



THE IMAGE OF ELIZABETH I IN EARLY MODERN SPAIN

EDITED BY *Eduardo Olid Guerrero and Esther Fernández*

FOREWORD BY *Susan Doran*



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IN EARLY MODERN SPAIN

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Anne J. Cruz, series editor

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EDITED BY

EDUARDO OLID GUERRERO

AND ESTHER FERNÁNDEZ

Foreword by Susan Doran

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FOREWORD

SUSAN DORAN

Who would think there was any more to say about the image of Queen Elizabeth I? Over the past thirty years or more, historians and literary scholars from Britain and America, like myself, have re-examined her portraits, deconstructed her writings and speeches, and analyzed contemporary works of praise and criticism to reveal a more nuanced image than that originally presented by the three heavyweights, Elkin Calhoun Wilson, Roy Strong, and Frances Yates. The posthumous image of the queen has equally been well dissected in numerous studies of her afterlife in plays, poetry, opera, and film. At the same time, almost every aspect of her policies and actions has come under review: her religious settlement, interactions with the European powers, matrimonial politics, the succession question, and relationships with her courtiers. New biographies of Burghley and Walsingham have also added to our understanding of this complex queen and her reign.

However, most scholarship has been Anglo-centric. Historians like myself have delved into the Spanish archives when considering political issues—such as England's foreign policy and the queen's matrimonial negotiations—but we have considered Elizabeth's image largely from an English viewpoint. Scholars of history and literature have studied Catholic critiques of the queen and her regime but again largely from

an Anglo-centric perspective, scrutinizing the writings of the English Catholic exiles, such as Thomas Stapleton and Robert Persons.

Since this collection of essays concentrates on Elizabeth's image in Spain, it is therefore new and exciting. The authors bring to our attention a wide range of Spanish texts—the anti-Elizabethan propaganda of the late sixteenth-century and the seventeenth-century literature restructuring the queen's image—that are largely unfamiliar to Elizabethan scholars in Britain and America. Also taking a novel approach, a couple of the essays examine how attitudes to Spain can be detected in prayers by Elizabeth and portraits of the queen. The authors of the essays are mainly scholars of English or Spanish literature, but they set their analysis firmly within a specific historical context and offer fresh insights not only about Elizabeth's image but also about the interactions between England and Spain and the transmission of texts in the early modern period.

After the introduction by the main editor, Eduardo Olid Guerrero, that delineates the main approaches and arguments of the collection, the reader is presented with two overviews. Magdalena de Pazzis Pi Corrales surveys the political context of Anglo-Spanish relations over the sixteenth century, showing how these relations fluctuated from friendship to confrontation even during Elizabeth's reign. Jesús M. Usunáriz then introduces us to the propaganda "controlled by Philip II's counselors and diplomats" and disseminated in the correspondence of certain Jesuit priests and other clerics. He identifies and illustrates several strands in the image that was constructed during the periods of conflict: "Elizabeth the Bastard," "The Persecutor," "A Bloody Jezebel, A New Athaliah," the "Evil Spider" and "The Tyrant." Interestingly, the image of Elizabeth as a "Libidinous She-Wolf," Usunáriz explains, was relatively rare and not central to the depictions of the queen, even though her mother Anne Boleyn was libeled as a lascivious adulteress. For example, the Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneira, in his 1588 history of the English schism, resisted suggesting that Elizabeth had consummated her relationship with Robert Dudley.

In the third chapter, Valerie Billing takes us down a different path, one in which she exposes the "intense physical violence" in the rhetoric of

the three Spanish prayers in Elizabeth's 1569 *Christian Prayers and Meditations*. Reflecting the growing representation of Spain as the embodiment of the Catholic threat to England, the language in these prayers, Billing shows us, stands out in stark contrast to the humility and gratitude of the French and Italian ones that precede them. Mercedes Alcalá-Galán, in chapter 4, picks up this theme of hidden representations of Spain, but she looks at English portraits and discovers "traces of Spain," and especially of England's rivalry with Spain, in visual images of Elizabeth from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The 1625 engraving by Thomas Cecil is the most obvious example, but Alcalá-Galán finds and analyzes less well-known allusions to Spain in portraits of the queen. She believes, for example that the patterned embroidery of flora and fauna on Elizabeth's dress in the Hardwick Portrait alludes to Spain's South American possessions.

In the fifth chapter, Claudia Mesa Higuera turns to the visual images of Elizabeth that were produced abroad, especially in France and the Netherlands. Although the queen's face was known in Spain through diplomatic gifts of miniatures and life-size portraits, few images of her exist today that were produced in Spain for Spanish audiences. Mesa Higuera discusses those that have survived (medals, a wood carving, and an engraving of Elizabeth with a nasty inscription) and finds them hostile representations, but, perhaps surprisingly, not "examples of toxic visual political propaganda."

The remainder of the book looks in depth at Spanish literary representations of Elizabeth. Chapter 6 by Alejandro García-Reidy discusses the poet and playwright Lope de Vegas's negative portrayal of the queen in *La Dragontea* (1598), which celebrates the death of Sir Francis Drake, and *Corona trágica: vida y muerte de la serenísima reina de Escocia María Estuarda*, posthumously printed in 1627. García-Reidy shows how these two epic poems were ideologically charged, reflecting not only Lope's militant Catholicism but also contemporary political discourse about bad kingship. In *Corona trágica*, for example, Lope contests Elizabeth's image as a virgin queen and attacks her for surrendering "majesty to desire," one of

the characteristics of a tyrant. In chapter 7, Jesús-David Jerez-Gómez looks at the popular verse and courtly poetry that openly served the Spanish cause against England and illustrates how the anti-English sentiment in these works conversed with and mirrored the anti-Spanish propaganda issued in England. As for the image of Elizabeth, she emerges as a deceitful siren in one of Lope's rhymes on the Armada and as a Jezebel in Cristóbal de Virués's sonnet "A la Inglesa."

Alexander Samson begins chapter 8 with an examination of Ribadeneira's negative depiction of Elizabeth in his *Historia ecclesiastica del cisma del reino de Inglaterra* (1588), a work based on the scurrilous history of Nicolas Sander. Samson then shows how the novelist Miguel de Cervantes "upends" Ribadeneira's history to produce a sympathetic portrayal of the queen in his short story, *La española inglesa* (1613), a romance that explores the limits and nature of religious allegiance and fidelity. Another sympathetic portrayal is discussed in chapter 9 where Adrián Izquierdo examines and contextualizes a remarkably flattering passage about Elizabeth in the *Historia trágica de la vida del duque de Biron* (1629), a biography of Biron written by the Spanish political historian Juan Pablo Mártir Rizo. While *La española inglesa* appeared shortly after the 1604 Anglo-Spanish peace and possibly reflects the emergence of a new attitude toward England and Elizabeth, the *Historia trágica* was written at a time when England and Spain were again at war. Izquierdo argues that Mártir Rizo's portrait of the queen as an exemplary ruler "possessing the political virtues of prudence, justice, and clemency as well as the essential ability to rule over her own human passions" results in part from his appropriation of Pierre Matthieu's *Histoire de France*. Of course, the Spanish biographer could have omitted Matthieu's description of Biron's visit to England, but he chose to include it as an exemplar: to applaud her application of Justus Lipsius's "reason of state" (in the justification for her execution of Essex); to provide a warning of the dangers that overly ambitious ministers like Essex and Biron could pose to the state; and to recommend a policy of *conservación* in Spain that Mártir Rizo saw as a feature of her successful rule in England.

In the final chapter, Olid Guerrero's coeditor, Esther Fernández, returns to Coello's *El conde de Sex* (1638), the first fictional work to explore Elizabeth's relationship with Essex. Comparing it with Juan Bautista Diamante's *La reina María Estuarda* (performed in 1670)—the first play to stage the mythical encounter between Elizabeth and Mary—Fernández considers how and why both playwrights selected history to create “a bastardized image” of Elizabeth.

This brief foreword cannot do justice to the richness of the essays in this collection. But I hope it whets readers' appetites. Not only do these essays present the image of Elizabeth emerging in a new frame, but additionally the chapters throw new light on particular Spanish texts, further illustrate the transnational character of early modern literature, and demonstrate that English and Spanish propaganda were not developed in isolation but responded to each other. Some authors, admitting that their work is not the last word on the subject, point to possible directions for further research. So, this collection indeed proves that new and valuable things can be said about the image of Elizabeth, and perhaps we can look forward to future revelations.

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THE IMAGE OF ELIZABETH I
IN EARLY MODERN SPAIN

INTRODUCTION

Semper Eadem, Semper Mutatio

EDUARDO OLID GUERRERO

The representations of Elizabeth I (1533–1603) by early modern Catholics evolved as Spain and England's diplomatic relations changed. Though the Spanish image of the queen was very unstable and inconsistent during her reign, it is possible to identify a progression in the Spanish reaction to the monarch and thus in the construction of her image on the Iberian Peninsula. The contributions to this volume investigate this evolving depiction of the queen's bodily image by Spain and its colonies and allies, from the condescending view of a weak woman who needed to be rescued and restored, to recognition of Elizabeth's singularity that ended by animalizing and blaming her for all the Catholic struggles in Europe.

Attention dedicated to Elizabeth's iconography until now has mostly come from a relatively insular perspective, revealing a need for more comparativist approaches. The two great early modern royal lineages, the Habsburgs and the Tudors, had established distinct propagandistic tactics by the time Philip II (1527–98) and Elizabeth I had to contend with one another. Still, the two aesthetic and performative monarchical styles were most likely mutually influenced by a keen and competitive awareness and on occasions even respect for the adversary. While Philip—and the Spanish Habsburgs after him—continued to use austere motifs, stripped of regal features (think of The Royal Site of San Lorenzo de El Escorial [1563–67]), Elizabeth orchestrated an exaggerated and imposing

appearance, perhaps in reaction to the Spanish minimalist profile. Nonetheless, both visions derive from royal egotism; whereas Philip used this restrained and somber posture to signal his status as the most powerful king in the world, Elizabeth's pomposity enabled her to present herself as an equally powerful sovereign. The queen's astute manipulation of the so-called "Black Legend" (or anti-Spanish sentiment) exemplifies how well, and to what extent, she understood the capability of descriptive warfare in the political landscape of the late 1500s.¹

Divided into three parts, this volume addresses three essential questions: first, how was the Elizabethan political and iconographic strategy regarded by the other side of the Channel? Second, how influential was the presence of Spain in Elizabeth I's policies and in the representation of her public persona? And third, in what ways did her image evolve once she passed away and her legacy became legendary for the Spanish audience?

The idea for this project originated while I was working on the article "The Machiavellian In-Betweenness of Cervantes's Elizabeth I," published in 2013. I realized that even though there is a lengthy bibliography regarding this English monarch, there are no major studies exclusively focusing on the Spanish image of Elizabeth I, Queen of England. Over the past three years, as the contributors to this volume have presented our research in conferences and meetings, we have encountered a growing interest in the visual and literary displays of Elizabeth Tudor imagined and produced in Spain and other European Catholic countries. This line of research, through exploration of the complex relationships between the two greatest European powers of the time, has demonstrated that an understanding of the shifting Anglo-Spanish alliance is essential to a full discernment of the period.

The Image of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Spain expands our understanding of Elizabeth's self-construction—from a Spanish rather than an English point of view—and it demonstrates how intrinsically tied her politically motivated public image was to Spain. Furthermore, this book reveals the omnipresence and significance of her Spanish rival not just in visual depictions of the queen, but also in England's military and political

strategies. Elizabeth skillfully presented herself/England as a comparable armed force and European intermediary in contrast to the Spanish empire. Consequently, all her efforts seem to have had the same objective: to strengthen England's influence by decreasing Spain's power in the world.

Therefore, the various cultural, political, visual, and literary images of Elizabeth Tudor that were to emerge in Spain were not static; instead, like her image in England, they evolved and changed during the four decades of her reign. Philip II proposed marriage to Elizabeth, who was soon to be crowned queen, on January 10, 1559, barely three months after the death of his wife, Mary Tudor, Elizabeth's half-sister, on November 17, 1558. His plan to eventually make Elizabeth his bride began the moment he realized Mary could not give him an heir. This also explains Philip's assistance to Elizabeth when she was imprisoned in the Tower of London from March 18 to May 19, 1554, for accusations of treason. Mary's mother, Elizabeth of York (1466–1503), and her stepmother, Anne Boleyn (ca. 1503–1536), had both been confined there decades earlier. Philip's protection prevented her possible demise and at the same time weakened his wife's already fragile queenship. His proposal of marriage to the English princess was a logical political step that presented the first and most important diplomatic challenge to the new queen and her advisors.²

After three months of deliberation, Elizabeth summoned the Spanish ambassador, Don Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, Count of Feria (1587–1633), who had made the proposal on the king's behalf to communicate her decision. It seems that Philip had miscalculated his objective, for he stipulated England's return to Catholicism as his main condition for marrying Elizabeth. Philip presented his offer as if it were a personal sacrifice as well as a way to save England. Elizabeth declined his proposition, entrusting her future to the English people. Rather than rely on widespread radical religious conversion to Protestantism, the new sovereign bet on the loyalty of her English subjects and on their rejection of everything Spanish, together with their fear of becoming Philip's subjects. Her decision gave rise to a different image of Elizabeth on the part of Spaniards, first in the Spanish embassy, then among European ambassadors in Rome and English

Catholic exiles. Elizabeth's reputation evolved as it passed from private chambers and the royal palace to print media and public opinion. Eventually, a fiercely anti-Protestant, anti-English, and finally anti-Elizabethan propaganda emerged in Spain.³

The portraits of the last Tudor queen that appeared in Spanish literary texts during and after her reign were, for historical reasons, mostly negative, with rare and significant exceptions such as the secondary character of the female monarch in Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's (1547–1616) short story “La española inglesa” (The Spanish-English lady) (1613). In popular and cultured poetry, in dramatic texts and theatrical discourse, and in pamphlets and treatises, the images rendered of Elizabeth were consistently critical. At the same time, depictions of Elizabeth, designed for a Spanish audience, consisted of a highly complex network of cultural, political, and social references, making their interpretation a major challenge.

This project began with the assumption that, because there were many adverse oral and literary descriptions of Elizabeth from this period in Spain, there must have been negative or indecorous visual displays coming from other parts of the realm as well. The survival of such records of the Virgin Queen was a reasonable hypothesis, and we achieved most of our objectives. Still, future scholarship on this topic will eventually amplify, modify, or even refute the results reached in this volume. For now, the conclusion is that there is a substantial imbalance between Elizabeth's presence in Spanish written texts and her remarkably scarce representation in Spanish iconography of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

It is true, as David Davis notes, that “in sixteenth-century Europe, few images were as sensitive as the representation of the [English] monarch. Effective rulers cultivated particular visual and textual representations and prohibited any images that would contravene these official representations” (67). The explanation for the absence of any Spanish representations of the English queen, however, point to the country's very complex diplomatic relationship with England, which evolved in a relatively short period from ally to enemy. The Spanish king's late or partial reactions to the Elizabethan reign forestalled the formation of a cohesive and solid foreign policy needed

to deliver quick and efficient responses to major historical challenges. The long list of complex issues included: diplomatic exchanges, peace agreements, plots, conspiracies, attempted regicides, papal interventions and pressures to invade, English Jesuit influence, popular and cultural reactions to Anglo-Spanish political and religious conflicts, and fictional writings characterizing Elizabeth I and the English Catholic diaspora, as well as Catholics who remained in England. Further, and especially during the decades of the 1580s and 1590s, Philip's ambition confronted several setbacks as it became more complicated for him to justify and excuse the image of Spain as an expansionist power across Europe. To address this concern, in the years previous to the English enterprise, he struggled to warrant his claim to England according to dynastic right to the throne. In addition, the mere suggestion of launching an invasion of England presented a conundrum and a matter of debate among Philip's advisors. How to negotiate the hypothetical aftermath became a matter of business in which the most relevant English Catholic exiles had an important role to play.⁴

Outside the Iberian Peninsula, the so-called "domino theory" was clearly a major concern on both sides of the Channel. J. N. Hillgarth refers to a pamphlet written in the 1590s in which Thomas Wright "advanced a 'domino theory,' by which, if England fell to Spain, France, Scotland, and Denmark would be next and 'all kingdoms, states, commonwealths shall obey the will of the Spanyol'" (392). Ultimately, the chaotic organization and eventual failure of the three enterprises against England—that is, the subsequent launching of the Invincible Spanish Armada in 1588, 1596, and 1597 to invade England without even declaring war—symbolizes the lack of a cohesive strategy toward the Elizabethan challenge and rising powerful Protestant kingdom.⁵

In the historiography on the last Tudor monarch, and as far as I know, the only study to date that explicitly and exclusively deals with the negative image of Elizabeth is Julia M. Walker's book, *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana* (1998).⁶ In her introduction, Walker explains that her volume focuses only on the English image of the queen and ignores

the European vision because: “However sweepingly general, gratuitously nasty, or spitefully specific the rhetoric to and about the queen on the subject of religion became, there was at its heart a fundamental doctrinal and political debate which shook all of early modern Europe, and which indeed still continues today” (2). Following this premise, Walker decided to focus exclusively on English discourses: “For this reason, we have not included examples of simply or exclusively Catholic rhetoric, turning our attention instead to less canonical sources of criticism and to texts that have been seen as uncritical to the queen, but which need reevaluation” (2). With this decision, Walker and her collaborators explore some unfamiliar territories of both well- and lesser-known English representations of the queen. And in so doing, they inadvertently opened the door for our book.

As the chapters of this volume will show, the uncertainty Elizabeth I provoked in Spanish and other European Catholics alike was in itself one of the leitmotifs that defined her throughout her reign. Logically, this ambiguity had its origin in England, evolving from both the support and strong resistance of the English people for and against Henry VIII’s (1491–1547) daughter as their next ruler. In Garrett Mattingly’s opinion, “Good Bess’s” virtue resided in her natural power of seduction as a woman: “There was no way Elizabeth Tudor could govern the English by force. She ruled them by the arts by which a clever woman rules a lover. From the first she courted them, posed for them, cajoled them. It was for them she made herself beautiful and a little remote, and surrounded by a glittering court” (11). The notion that it was Elizabeth’s androgynous image that ultimately allowed her to survive also pervades Spanish discourses of this period, and it actually helps explain the Spanish and European Catholics’ struggle to interpret this queen. Kevin Sharpe advances this theory: “Yet, and this is the principal paradox of Elizabeth’s representation, for all the power of the queen’s image, that image was never entirely stable. Indeed, rather than a paradox, power and instability may have complemented, enabled, each other” (320). In fact, the vision of Elizabeth as a seductive hypnotizing force was one of the key elements cited by some of the most vociferous Spanish authors (for example, Pedro de Ribadeneyra, 1527–1611),

and English Catholics (for example, William Allen, 1532–1594) when arguing the need to liberate England from such an evil witch and Jezebel.⁷ Ironically, the biblical reference once again seems to have its origins in England. In the first English anti-Spanish pamphlet, “A supplication to the Quenes Majestie” (1555), the anonymous author hyperbolically denounces Philip’s taxation system in Flanders and the murder of Protestant leaders, comparing Philip and Mary to Ahab and Jezebel.⁸ Even though Philip II was occasionally portrayed as a nurturing and protective sovereign, a masculine image based on virility and fertility prevailed.⁹ His royal power was never challenged in Spain, at least not to the extent that Elizabeth’s was contested. Despite his many tribulations, he never had to contend with attempts to commit regicide, rebellions, invasions, conspiracies, papal excommunication, Catholic English martyrs, or a parliament constantly insisting on the necessity for a husband and prince.

The first description of the image of Elizabeth by European Catholics was probably provided by the Venetian ambassador to England, Giovanni Michiel, in his dispatches. The Republic of Venice, assailed by a terrible plague internally, and by the Ottoman Empire externally, finally sought the support of Spain and the Papacy by joining the Holy League in 1570; the league defeated the Turks the following year in the Battle of Lepanto. In the *Report of England by Giovanni Michiel, late Ambassador to Queen Mary and King Philip, to the Venetian Senate, on the 13th May 1557*, between the notes titled “Mary’s hatred of Elizabeth” and “Favour shown by Philip to Elizabeth,” we find the following excerpts from the entry “Lady Elizabeth”:

Of this sister of hers [Mary Tudor], I must remind your Serenity that after the repudiation of Queen Katharine (the present Queen’s mother) she was born of Henry VIII and of his second wife Anne Boleyn, an Englishwoman and of noble birth, although two years afterwards she was beheaded for adultery. My Lady Elizabeth was born in September 1533, so she is now 23 years old. She is a young woman, whose mind is considered no less excellent (*bello*) than her person, although her face is comely (*gratiosa*) rather than handsome, but she is tall and well formed,

with a good skin, although swarthy (*ancorchè olivastra*); she has fine eyes and above all a beautiful hand of which she makes a display (*della quale ne fa professione*); and her intellect and understanding (*spirito et ingegno*) are wonderful, as she showed very plainly by her conduct when in danger and under suspicion. As a linguist she excels the Queen, for besides Latin she has no slight knowledge of Greek, and speaks Italian more than the Queen does, taking so much pleasure in it that from vanity (*per ambitione*) she will never speak any other language with Italians. She is proud and haughty, as although she knows that she was born of such a mother, she nevertheless does not consider herself of inferior degree to the Queen, whom she equals in self-esteem; nor does she believe herself less legitimate than her Majesty, alleging in her own favour that her mother would never cohabit with the King unless by way of marriage, with the authority of the Church, and the intervention of the Primate of England.¹⁰

Michieli wrote extensively about his embassy in Mary's court, and it seems that he had a sharp sense and understanding not only of Elizabeth's *sprezzatura* (studied carelessness) and physical presence, but also of the volatile court situation during those important years of transition for the religious, cultural, and geopolitical future of England. His description preceded the first Spanish impression of Princess Elizabeth by only one year.¹¹ As soon as the first Spanish ambassador to the Elizabethan court, the Count of Feria, arrived in November 1558, he wrote to Philip II about an important meeting regarding the situation of Calais. Awaiting Queen Mary's imminent death, he relates how he met "Madama Ysabel" at Sir Henry Brockell's house, where she invited him to dinner. In a long conversation, Feria read her one of Philip's latest letters:

This I produced and we read it through together. I glossed each point as I was instructed to do and after I had done so as extensively and as well as I could, she told me that she was very grateful to your majesty for what you had declared to her and that your majesty might rest assured that she would maintain the good relations/that had existed between your majesty's predecessors and her own, for three reasons: the first was that when she

was in prison, your majesty had shown her favour and helped to obtain her release. She felt it was not dishonourable to admit that she had been a prisoner; on the contrary, it was those who had put her there who were dishonoured, because she had never been guilty of having acted or said anything against the queen, nor would she ever confess otherwise. She then went on to outline the two other reasons, which were: the friendship that had always existed between her house and that of Burgundy; and the promise which your majesty had made to her through Don Diego de Acevedo, Don Alonso de Córdoba, and myself, that you would always be her good friend.¹²

This is probably the first recorded reaction by a Spaniard to Elizabeth I. Through Feria's perspective, we can appreciate her diplomatic skills at work while dealing for the first time with one of the most powerful kings in the world, assuring her loyalty while at the same time cooling their friendship to emphasize her desideratum for independent sovereignty. After relating this intimate exchange, the ambassador offers his conclusion and interpretation of the future queen:

She is a very vain and clever woman. She must have been thoroughly schooled in the manner in which her father conducted his affairs, and I am very much afraid that she will not be well-disposed in matters of religion, for I see her inclined to govern through men who are believed to be heretics and I am told that all the women around her definitely are. Apart from this, it is evident that she is highly indignant about what has been done to her during the queen's life-time. She puts great store by the people and is very confident that they are all on her side—which is certainly true. She declares that it was the people who put her in her present position and she will not acknowledge that your majesty or the nobility of this realm had any part in it, although as she herself says, they have all sent her assurances of their loyalty. In fact there is not a heretic or a traitor in all the kingdom who has not joyfully raised himself from the grave in order to come to her side. She is determined to be governed by no one. I shall now tell your majesty of the persons with whom she is

on good terms (according to what I heard from her), together with those with whom she is not, and it seems to me as though she knows who is who in the kingdom, at least among those of rank.¹³

Feria's reading of Elizabeth is revealing in that it anticipates Philip's worst fears. The ambassador immediately recognizes her intelligence and autonomy on matters of politics and faith, and the fact that the English people support her, but he also sees Elizabeth's political training as the result of her closest Protestant advisors' influence. Feria also points to the serious issue of Catholics residing in England and the uncertain future for those subjects who were not on her side before she became queen. In this short dispatch, the ambassador outlined the major present and future problems that Anglo-Spanish relations would face.¹⁴ The difficulties that Spaniards encountered in interpreting the image of this new queen also explain their inability to control her and their failure to influence or at least foresee her political decisions.

The future of the many Catholic families still residing in England, and their properties, would become a major asset for Elizabeth and a big problem for Philip. English Catholic exiles such as Nicholas Sanders (1530–1581); Cardinal William Allen, the martyr saint; Edmund Campion (1540–1581); Robert Persons (1546–1610); and Joseph Creswell (1556–1623) could only threaten her kingdom from outside.¹⁵ They were compelled to write and publish their propaganda outside England, sometimes under pseudonyms, longing for the deposition of Elizabeth and a restoration of Catholicism that would never come. The Jesuits founded seminaries in Douai (1568), Rome (1579), Valladolid (1589), and Seville (1592), where young English men could receive religious instruction; some of them returned to England and were martyred. The paradox is that while Elizabeth's council was constantly afraid of an English Catholic revolt in the event of a Spanish invasion, Philip never thought he could trust them once the Armada had reached English shores.¹⁶ Among Elizabeth's advisors, William Cecil (referred to as Lord Burghley from 1571 onward after he was raised to the peerage of Baron Burghley of Burghley) was probably the most

concerned about a hypothetical uprising of English Catholics supported by Spain.¹⁷ Burghley even tried to stop new ideas from influencing Elizabethan subjects. He was particularly unsettled by *A Conference about the next succession to the Crowne of England divided into two partes* (1594), signed by R. Doleman, but most probably authored by Robert Persons. He summarizes there the previous arguments made by William Allen in a memorandum to Philip II (1587) (see note 4), suggesting “Philip’s elder daughter, the Infanta Isabel, should inherit France and that Philip’s own successful claim to Portugal justifies his (and his daughter’s) claim to England.”¹⁸ Thus, anti-Spanish/anti-Philip propaganda versus anti-Elizabeth propaganda evolved from a conflict in print to a military confrontation. At the same time, the negative English press shifted its focus from papists to Spain, and the Spanish war campaign moved from blaming Elizabeth’s heretical council to her persona.¹⁹ The increased persecution of Catholics in England during the last decade of the 1590s is evidence that Burghley was successful in transmitting his fear—an English Catholic revolt in support of the Spaniards in the event that they reached their shores—to the rest of Elizabeth’s advisors. However, some members of Philip’s court began to wonder about English Catholics’ commitment to an invasion of their country and a hypothetical deposition of the queen by the Spanish King: “A paper by Creswell, dated 2 August 1603, attempts to answer doubts expressed by the councillors. The question had been raised as to why the English Catholics had never risen in arms as the Irish had done.”²⁰

Even among English Catholic exiles, Elizabeth’s image was rarely challenged. As Jan Machielsen explains, “While Catholic apologetics in this period offered strongly voiced criticism of the Elizabethan regime, authors either excused the queen as being misled by her councilors (first the Earl of Leicester, then William Cecil), or ignored her.”²¹ Politicians and authors such as William Cecil (1520–1598), Robert Deveroux (1565–1601), John Aylmer (1521–1594), John Jewel (1522–1571), John Foxe (1516–1587), and John Knox (1513–1572) helped create for Spain the archetypical distorted image of the queen. Knox’s “The First Blast of the Trumpet” (1558), for example, “was not merely the first against the ‘monstrous regiment’ (i.e.,

rule) of women, but perhaps the first British political pamphlet.”²² This widely distributed treatise opens with the following words: “To promote a woman to beare rule, superiority, dominion or empire above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance, and finale it is the subversion of good order, of all equitie and justice.”²³ Interestingly enough, some of the negative or indecorous appellatives, expressions, accusations, and adjectives that Spaniards used came from England, first penned by misogynistic Anglicans against the idea of a female monarch, and then from English Catholics still living in England, exiled from it, or returned as ordained Jesuits knowing that they might end up dying as martyrs. Their writings were translated or directly plagiarized into publications produced to respond to the highly efficient anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic propaganda already circulating in Europe. As a result, the Spanish reaction to the English queen went from hopefulness, to disillusionment, and ultimately resulted in accusations intended to convince and enrage the peninsular population so they would contribute with soldiers and taxes to the enterprise against England.

With regard to the iconography of Elizabeth, contemporary Spanish authors were probably familiar with *The History of the World* (1617) by Sir Walter Raleigh (ca. 1552–1618). Raleigh describes the Elizabethan regime’s control over the queen’s visual representations with these well-known lines:

Pictures of Queene Elizabeth, made by vnskilfull and common Painters; which by her owne Commandement, were knockt in peeces and cast into the fire. For ill Artists, in setting out the beauty of the externall: and weake writers, in describing the vertues of the internall; doe often leaue to posterity, of well formed faces a deformed memor, and of the most perfect and princely minds, a most defective repraesentation. (*sic*; 59)²⁴

This institutionalized obsession to control visual and textual representations of Elizabeth is justified precisely because many foresaw their symbolic potential. As David Davis notes, “visual and literary texts served as avenues for contesting the Queen’s identity, authority, and public persona (as an allusion to the composition of the English state), and these avenues were

well travelled by Elizabeth's friends, lovers, allies, enemies, and the Queen herself" (67). We are obviously dealing here with the enemy's representations of Elizabeth, and if we accept that "Raleigh intricately linked text and image in the construction of representation" (67), then we can understand how the Spanish and European Catholic imaginary about Elizabeth ironically coincided with the English people's struggle to represent and interpret their own queen. She was a female monarch constantly changing her appearance, using her body, and performing the crown, surprising her council and foreign embassies with her unpredictable decisions. The jealous control of Elizabeth's visual image made Catholics think twice before they produced an unflattering representation of the queen, but they certainly did not blink when it came to destroying portraits and other depictions as if they were symbolically killing her real and regal persona. As Roy Strong notes, "Throughout the reign efforts were made to dispose of the Queen by stabbing, burning, or otherwise destroying her image."²⁵

Elizabethan censorship and zealousness focusing on the queen's image began in the British Isles and later expanded across the Channel. Nonetheless, unsavory visual depictions that escaped English scrutiny are scarce because their authors took a risk, as Rob Content explains:

In thinking about those unofficial portraits which survived such strenuous effort of censorious control, it is important to be aware that they represented acts of defiance not only of these rhetorical impositions. The makers of subversive images were subject to considerable risk of punishment, including not only the confiscation and destruction of the offending works, but the loss of reputation and liberty. The more explicit and harsh a critique of the queen, the more necessary therefore that the critic should be shielded from discovery by the spies and informers employed by her 'officers and ministers.' (230)²⁶

Members of the austere Spanish embassy, consistently dressed in black, projected an image of unchanging orthodox ideology, but they also saw how Elizabeth in part adopted and appropriated their symbolic presence for her kingdom's maxim: "Always the same." Sharpe explains this irony:

“The success of Elizabeth’s self-representation also owes much to another seeming paradox: the queen’s proclamation of her unerring steadfastness, emblemized in her motto taken from her mother—‘Semper eadem’—(always the same) and yet her readiness to adapt to shifting circumstances and change” (320–321). Philip and his ambassadors never seemed to figure out the queen, who was supposedly always the same but was at the same time always changing, *semper mutatio*. As Sharpe also suggests, embracing the power of transformation allowed Elizabeth to survive and thrive for so many years: “One of the most important changes of the Elizabethan era was change itself—and the widespread perception of change. Though all the rhetoric and cultural values of sixteenth-century England emphasized stasis and constancy” (321).

Thus, from Spain and its allies in Europe, we may observe at first a paternalistic approach that argued for the liberation of England and the English people and misinterpreted Elizabeth as an insecure new queen controlled by heretic advisers. The apparent failure of this initial depiction subsequently led many writers to represent her as an untrustworthy English sovereign and finally as a threatening tyrant. The implicit assumption that this new inexperienced queen would not last in power was also in the mind of many, with few, even among her closest advisors, acknowledging her strong, independent voice as an upcoming powerful monarch. For vehement Catholic writers, the ultimate threat was endangering English Catholics still living in England or even in exile. Another possible problem these authors faced was the contradiction that could result from a careless discourse toward the English queen.²⁷ As Machielsen has brilliantly demonstrated, Thomas Stapleton’s (1535–1598) *Apologia pro Rege Catholico Philipo II* (1592), “the longest denunciation of the queen in print by an Elizabethan exile,”²⁸ is a clear example of this type of inconsistent pamphleteering argument. As Machielsen notes,

Standard Catholic imagery sought to represent Elizabeth as a weak figure; the queen was seduced rather than a seductress. By contrast, the *Apologia* not only presents us with an England which was pregnant with heresy and

giving birth to monsters, it also—in often strikingly gendered language—represents her queen as a Jezebel, an evil genius, and a witch. (23)

Machielsen also reminds us that these kinds of indecorous representations of the queen by English authors were often anonymous or signed under pseudonyms. In the case of Stapleton, his mysterious pen name was “‘Didymus Veridicus Henfildanus,’ or, as Robert Persons decoded it, ‘Thomas tell truth,’ both alluding to the author’s real name and representing him as truth incarnated.”²⁹ In addition to the authorial mask, this ephemeral literature normally had a very specific implicit reader in mind: “it was a text *seemingly* written by a ‘Netherlander,’ and with a Netherlandish audience in mind” (23). Ultimately, the main paradox of Stapleton’s depiction, which he tried to correct in the *Apologia*, consisted of blaming Elizabeth’s undetermined gender for the main destructive events in Europe at the time: “Stapleton’s representation of the queen in the *Apologia* then, was unsatisfying because it credited her with a power and influence which Elizabethan Catholics were keen to deny her” (43). As we will see, this is one of the major problems Spanish writers had when they ended their arguments with a hyperbolically negative image of Elizabeth I. The hydra in the wood sculpture belonging to the House of Alba on the cover of this book is one of the main animalizing metaphors used to depict Elizabeth in and outside the Iberian Peninsula. Stapleton asks rhetorically, “What good could come out of England, a pestilential hydra of so many-evils with which we have been afflicted for so many years and are afflicted still, and which now, pregnant with heresy appears always to give birth to some sort of monster?”³⁰ This incendiary discourse missed the evident point that a powerful androgynous English monster would require a similar or an even more troublesome royal figure to destroy her. Ironically, the excessive rage against Elizabeth’s image backfired on Philip, emphasizing to an even greater extent his European reputation as an insatiable monarch. Ultimately, his council and ambassadors never solved the political conundrum presented by this new *semper eadem*—though *semper mutatio*—Protestant queen.

Early Modern Anglo-Spanish Relations and Elizabethan Studies

As we briefly enter the boundless scholarship on Elizabethan England and early modern Anglo-Hispanism, we must acknowledge our immense debt to so many historians and literary and cultural scholars for their continuous effort to study this difficult period of history. For any research on the topic, we necessarily have to reference the groundbreaking work by two specialists on official diplomatic records. On the Iberian Peninsula, Don Tomás González was the first post-Restoration archivist at the General Archives of Simancas in Valladolid, Spain. In 1830, he published a very useful *Apuntamientos para la Historia del Rey Don Felipe Segundo de España por lo tocante a sus relaciones con la Reina Isabel de Inglaterra desde el año 1558 hasta el de 1576* (Notes on the history of Philip II of Spain regarding his relations with Queen Elizabeth of England from the year 1558 to 1576). Some years later, José Sancho Rayón and Francisco de Zabalburu added their *Correspondencia de Felipe II con sus embajadores en la corte de Inglaterra 1558–1584* (Philip II's correspondence with his ambassadors at the English Court) to the *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (1886–8) (Collection of unpublished documents for the history of Spain).

In England, Martin Hume (1847–1910) translated four volumes of the *Calendar of letters and State papers relating to English affairs*, from the Spanish originals preserved principally at the Archives of Simancas and corresponding to Elizabeth's ascent and rule from 1558 to 1603. González and Hume's work opened a new line of research for many Spanish and English scholars, resulting in studies that have had a direct impact on their future counterparts. Another very useful resource for scholarship is Richard Bruce Wernham's edition in 1930 of the *Calendar of State Papers*, foreign series, of the reign of Elizabeth preserved in the Public Record Office. Also from the same period is Sir John Earnest Neale's erudite and still relevant biography, *Queen Elizabeth I* (1934). Other noteworthy studies are James Anthony Froude's *The History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada* (1862–1870) and Nathan Gerson Goodman's *Diplomatic Relations between England*

and Spain with Special Reference to English Opinion: 1597–1603 (1925). Our volume also intends to contribute to filling in the lacunae of these early groundbreaking studies.

Traditionally, modern historiography on both sides of the English Channel has reached conclusions on the many aspects of Anglo-Spanish relations that have followed a clear ideological agenda. For example, in his *Diccionario biográfico universal de mujeres célebres* (Universal biographical dictionary of famous women), published in 1844, Vicente Díez Canseco's (1813–95) entry, "Isabel Tudor, famous Queen of England, Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn's Daughter," notes, "The Spanish government, seeing how openly war was being declared, complained, first through a manifesto, about Elizabeth's infamous ingratitude towards the Catholic King, to whom she undoubtedly owes her throne" (372).³¹ Díez Canseco's tone is an example of a long cultural tradition of Spanish enmity toward England and especially to their Protestant queen. However, Díez Canseco's arbitrary statement grants a certain merit to this ungrateful monarch: "And we must agree that Elizabeth knew how to keep her pride at a time when all Europe believed she was lost for having dared to provoke the colossal power of Spain" (372).³² Writing over two centuries after Elizabeth's death, Díez Canseco's politically biased biography cannot mask his fascination with this historical figure. This is the same appeal that helped to create the myth of Gloriana, or the Virgin Queen, not only in England but in all of Europe as well, particularly after her death. Díez Canseco expresses a captivation, wonder, and respect for her image, but he also reflects a historical inability to classify her:

Few queens have been like Elizabeth of England, simultaneously so praiseworthy yet so justly censured [. . .] Elizabeth was both prudent and violent, majestic and frivolous, constant and fickle, capable of the most tender and cruel love, yet relentless in her vendettas, jealous of her dignity, and almost ridiculously hypocritical. Despite everything we have said in this article, it would be an injustice to deny this sovereign her great qualities as ruler: in fact, she lifted England to a height we had never seen, thanks

to her prompt resolutions, brave when the case demanded, and with some luck, she challenged and, we must confess, triumphed over the colossal power of Philip II.³³

English historiography has for many years also fallen into patriotic accounts of this period. Hume's *Calendar of letters and state papers* made this valuable set of documents accessible to historians, but at the same time he followed a traditional approach in his reading of Elizabeth's rule. The final page of his introduction to the fourth and last volume summarizes his interpretation of the multitude of dispatches and missives between Elizabeth I and Philip II, and those between Philip II and his Spanish ambassadors:

This was the impotent conclusion of fifty years of Spanish effort to obtain a dominant influence in England by means of religion. Through the whole of the papers contained in the four volumes of this Calendar the intrigue runs unbroken. Diplomacy, cajolery, threats, subornation of murder, incitement of rebellion and open war had each been tried in turn, but in every case tried too late. The blighting centralizing system of Charles V and of Philip II, with its wooden immobility and its sluggish want of sympathy with its instruments, had been no match for the alert, vigorous methods and intensely human passions which moved the great English queen and the men of action and council who surrounded her. Spain had been beaten to a large extent by her own shortcomings, which made the task of such energetic opponents comparatively easy. But the very qualities which proved useless to her when pitted against the great Elizabethans; the haughty, deliberate, presumption which have been pierced, buffeted, and derided by men who took nothing for granted; by the Queen herself, by Drake and the sailors, by the Puritan party, which always prevented Spain from being taken by her own valuation: the qualities, with less real power behind them now than ever, brought timid, shift James to his knees, and sent him truckling and cringing to the boasted power of Spain, which Englishmen of the worthier age of Elizabeth had proved to be a phantom. (LXVIII)³⁴

In the conclusion to his twelve-volume *History of England*, Froude was subtler than Hume but perhaps equally as partial. His final paragraph highlights as epic the historical moment of English liberation in the year of Spain's first frustrated attack on England.³⁵ As David Armitage points out, the notion of a British empire as a post-Reformation universal kingdom came from this author: "It was an empire of commerce not conquest, defended by its navy rather than being propagated by an army," and "it reached its apotheosis in the mid-nineteenth century, in the language of J. A. Froude's 'England's Forgotten Memories' (1852)" (271).³⁶ The ethos of an English universal realm planned and conceived by the Elizabethan government is still a matter of debate among historians. To Armitage, "the Elizabethan idea of empire was belated and unelaborated," to the point that "the backwardness and derivativeness of the Elizabethan imperial idea appear even more starkly when it is compared with the continental conceptions" (273).³⁷ Armitage's argument challenges Frances Yates's treatment of the queen and a future English empire. Armitage notes that "the classic treatment of those conceptions and their relationship with Elizabethan imperial imagery and ideology remains Frances Yates's *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (1975)" (273). However, the debates by English scholars about Elizabeth's vision of England coincide with their representation of Spain, in which Philip's empire is, without a doubt, the major European power. Even Hume's anti-Spanish discourse acknowledges elsewhere that Elizabeth "had done little more than give a name to the continent of Virginia."³⁸

The idea of a Spanish empire is never questioned because its mere existence is the main threat but also the only reference for the Elizabethan crown. Even for some authors like Hillgarth, Spain is the inevitable mirror of England.³⁹ By contrast, Philip's grand strategy, which included his attempt to marry Elizabeth, remains a point of scholarly debate.⁴⁰ These issues are discussed in this volume as well, but our intention is, first and foremost, to reflect these positions as they contribute to our understanding of the early modern Spanish image of Elizabeth and ultimately of Anglo-Spanish relations during this historical period.

Hume's statement, that all she did was give a name to the state of Virginia, follows in a long line of historians beginning with William Camden's first successful edition of *Britannia*, published in Latin in 1586, and his most relevant *Annales: The True and Royall History of the famous Empresse Elizabeth, Queen of England* (1625). As Cristopher Haigh explains, "Camden's main and lasting achievement was the definition of the structure and ingredients of the political history of Elizabeth's reign: since the *Annales*, it has consisted of the early solution of inherited problems and the ensuing defense of her solutions against challenges from Puritans, papists, self-seeking politicians and Philip II of Spain."⁴¹

One of the most innovative additions to Elizabethan studies came from the so-called revisionist position taken by scholars during the 1980s. In addition to Haigh, this historical trend included names such as Henry Kamen, R. B. Wernham, MacCraffey, Simon Adams, Kevin Sharpe, and John King. Interestingly, Haigh acknowledged that a radical revisionist position could potentially lead to the same harmonious England it aimed to deconstruct, as in the case of Neale, or such works as Joel Hurstfield's *Elizabeth I and the Unity of England* (1960). However, these authors' approaches have led from the sophistication of the Elizabethan historians to a much more subtle and prudent analysis that has influenced English and Spanish historians alike.⁴²

The history of Elizabeth's image and iconography were unquestionably influenced by Frances Yates and Roy Strong, both of whom contributed to the notion of a "cult" of Elizabeth. Referring to Yates and Strong's inspirational work, Annaliese Connolly and Lisa Hopkins note, echoing Susan Doran's concerns, that "recent historicist criticism has extended and contested their ideas that Elizabeth was able to create and disseminate an image for herself as a replacement for the Virgin Mary in post-Reformation England and that this served as a successful political tool to consolidate her position and overcome the difficulties concerning her gender" (6).

John King presents the counter argument to this, claiming that the "royal image was fashioned dynamically by Elizabeth and her government from above, and by her apologists and supplicants from below."⁴³ This

crucial point is still being pondered among historians and the reader will also find it in the present book, particularly in Mercedes Alcalá Galán and Claudia Mesa's chapters.⁴⁴ As an example of both sides of the debate, Louis Montrose has taken the traditional idea of a Princess Elizabeth already manufacturing her future queenly presence; while Doran questions Elizabeth's unbroken control of her own image. Connolly and Hopkins also follow this last line of thought, noting that Julia M. Walker's book previously did the same. For them, the English image of their most famous queen was a complex and unsteady political, social, and cultural construct: "The queen's image was interpreted and appropriated by a range of audiences, to create a tradition of panegyric in which praise could serve the double purpose of eulogy and criticism, as well as producing a competing, negative discourse about the queen."⁴⁵ Alexander Samson, Adrián Izquierdo, and Esther Fernández's chapters explore this complex interpretation of Elizabeth created after her death by Spanish writers for a Spanish audience.⁴⁶

In addition, the essays in this volume add to a series of new studies that begin a more thorough investigation of Catholicism in England and Europe.⁴⁷ These scholars acknowledge the relevance of the Catholic role in the formation of the Elizabethan image. As Alexandra Walsham puts it, "Indeed, it is not an exaggeration to say that she largely had the Roman Catholics to thank for her elevation to the status of a Protestant icon" (151). The myth of Gloriana argued by researchers like Neale, Yates, and Strong endured because it assisted in the formation of an English identity. Currently, however, numerous scholars are deconstructing Elizabeth's complex iconography. This book contributes to further critical decoding Elizabeth's image as it was perceived by her major rival and most antagonistic reference. Ultimately, the contributors to this volume underline the central role of Spain in the formation, and paradoxically in the survival, of the Elizabethan kingdom.

Antonio Domínguez Ortiz's essay on foreigners in seventeenth century Spain argues that the constant state of conflict and religious differences explains the difficulty that the English exiles encountered while living in Spain. The scarcity of English people on the peninsula explains the lack of

challenge to the mostly negative mainstream Spanish image of Elizabeth. As Alexander Samson's chapter demonstrates, the exception of Miguel de Cervantes's fictional English queen accentuates its singularity within the Spanish *imaginario* surrounding the Protestant queen. Porfirio Sanz Camañes's work helps us to understand how the profession of ambassador was defined over the course of these tumultuous relationships across the Channel, especially during and after Elizabeth's reign. The expulsion of Spanish ambassadors, and the consequent lack of diplomatic relations from 1584 onward (Bernardino de Mendoza, 1540–1604, was the last Elizabethan Spanish ambassador), perpetuated antagonistic representations of the other on both sides of the Channel. Together with the contributors to this volume, these aforementioned studies reveal a complex cultural exchange between early modern England and Spain.⁴⁸ *The Image of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Spain* accounts for the consequences of Spanish-English relations at their most difficult moment through the analysis of different representations of the Protestant queen.

In my opinion, the most interesting scholarship on the topic has found a way to balance ideological prejudice in favor of an effort to add to the field of knowledge surrounding European studies, regardless of the political tendencies of a traditional historiography associated mainly with the English or Spanish schools. These scholars have revealed an interactive and vibrant circulation of people and material in early modern Europe, a logical consequence of the period's religious and political instability.⁴⁹ Esther Fernández and I have consciously sought authors who come from the three geographical corners that have contributed the most to this topic: Spain, England, and the United States. Hopefully solving the main problem of distance between Anglo-Spanish historiographies, in this volume historians and literary scholars engage with the ideas of their fellow contributors to focus on the central question of the Spanish and European Catholic images of Queen Elizabeth I. The results of this interaction have yielded the following chapters, which are divided into three parts.

Part 1 of the collection, "Anglo-Spanish Relations and the Politics of Elizabethan Queendom," includes four chapters. In chapter 1, "From

Friendship to Confrontation: Philip II, Elizabeth I, and Spanish-English Relations in the Sixteenth Century,” Magdalena de Pazzis Pi Corrales briefly traces the historical development of diplomacy across the Channel that led to Spain’s attempted invasion. Pi Corrales shows how the fluctuating international relations between the two monarchies outlines a process whereby the initial amity between Philip II and Elizabeth I became outright aggression and full confrontation. The decisions leading to their enmity would change the course of European history for centuries to come. In chapter 2, “The Political Discourse on Elizabeth I of England in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain,” Jesús M. Usunáriz completes the historical panoramic with an overview of Spanish ideological thought on the English problem. Usunáriz traces the image of Elizabeth I projected in Spain as it was modeled by political and religious events of her time. The texts and discourses by Spanish sixteenth and seventeenth century historians and chroniclers elucidate Queen Elizabeth’s personality, her policies, her attitude toward religion, and the impact of these factors on Spanish foreign policy and in Europe.

Valerie Billing’s chapter 3 focuses on “Antichrists, Pope Lovers, and Atheists: The Politics of Elizabeth I’s *Christian Prayers and Meditations*.” She offers an insightful analysis of Spain’s significant influence through the very intimate religious life of the queen. Elizabeth I’s *Christian Prayers and Meditations in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, and Latin*, published in 1569, demonstrate the queen’s knowledge of ancient and modern languages and provide a rare glimpse of her writing in Spanish, a language she avoided later in her reign for political reasons. Drawing on the close association between Spain and Catholicism, the queen’s prayers offer a strong warning to Catholics, both inside and outside of England, that Elizabeth intends to crush any threat to English Protestantism. In the fourth chapter, “Elizabeth I and the Politics of Representation: The Triumph over Spain,” Mercedes Alcalá-Galán explores familiar English portraits of the sovereign to seek out their hidden messages to the enemy. Alcalá-Galán sees Elizabethan England reinventing itself in direct competition with—and as a reaction to—the Spanish menace. The official portraits

feature key political elements that reveal the queen's position regarding the conflicts with Philip II's Spain.

Part 2, "Visual and Literary Images of the *Jezabel del Norte*," comprises three chapters dealing with the most critical image of the English queen. For the visual representation of Elizabeth produced on the Iberian Peninsula and the Spanish Low Countries, Claudia Mesa Higuera's chapter 5, "In Search of Elizabeth I: Visual Representations of the Virgin Queen in Early Modern Spanish Sources," exposes and explores the lesser known Spanish iconography of Elizabeth I through sculpture, frontispieces, and emblematic medals. These originally conceived ephemera have occasionally survived beyond written references or descriptions. As Davis notes, "the more popular forms of visual imagery (e.g., cheap print and woodcuts) proved to be even greater threats, because they were vulnerable to unauthorized depictions of the Queen" (67). Although the very image of the queen with her many idiosyncrasies incited a hostile rhetoric among prominent Spanish writers and intellectuals, on a pictorial level Elizabeth seemed less prone to public defamation.

The image of Good Queen Bess portrayed in Spanish verse is shared by the next two chapters dealing with authorial and popular poetry. Alejandro García-Reidy's chapter 6, "Political Rhetoric in Lope de Vega's Representation of Elizabeth I," showcases Felix Lope Carpio's (1562–1635) political ambition as he assumes the mainstream and most critical Spanish vision of the queen. García-Reidy sees in Lope's epic poems a more complex figure of a failed monarch, affected by defects associated with the tyrant and the heretic, but also open to political strategizing.

In chapter 7, "Elizabeth I and Spanish Poetic Satyr: Political Context, Propaganda, and the Social Dimension of the Armada," Jesús-David Jerez-Gómez take us to the Spanish streets and the popular lyrical interpretations of the female monarch. Spanish satirical verses produced in the context of the religious and political confrontation between Spain and England reveal poetry as an instrument of the state aimed at creating and supporting favorable public opinion that would back the Crown and assist the enterprise against England. Both renowned and popular

poets, often under the veil of pseudonyms and anonymity, typical of the satirical genre, endorsed the ideological anti-Elizabethan dialectic against Protestant England. Spanish propaganda, despite its ephemeral nature in terms of genre and transmission, conserved in poetic form an image of Elizabeth I configured by the political and religious tensions of the time.

For the third and last part of this volume, “The Queen is Dead! *Isabel Tudor* in the Spanish Ethos and for a Spanish Audience,” Alexander Samson’s chapter 8, “Cervantes Upending Ribadeneira: Elizabeth I and the Reformation in Early Modern Spain,” shows that Cervantes’s short story, “La española inglesa,” has a paradoxical relationship with the Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneira’s nonfictional account of the English schism. Samson claims that, “for a work of propaganda, Ribadeneira’s treatise is surprisingly anodyne in its treatment of the figure that Spanish military operations sought to usurp and displace” (262). In contrast, he reads Cervantes’s story as a “paean to peace and religious tolerance, emerging out of a political context in which religion was increasingly subordinated to the interests of the state” (274). For Samson, “religious difference in the short story is constantly elided or avoided,” even as it depends on the blow of depicting Spain’s antagonist as a “tolerant and benign figure” (274).

Adrián Izquierdo follows with chapter 9, “Elizabeth Tudor, the Elephant, and the Mirroring Cases of the Earl of Essex and the Duke of Biron.” Izquierdo analyzes the significance of another peculiarly positive image of Queen Elizabeth in the *Historia trágica de la vida del duque de Biron* (The tragic story of the life of the Duke of Biron) (1629), a biography written by Spanish political writer and historian Juan Pablo Mártir Rizo. The widespread circulation of Rizo’s works offers a snapshot of how Spanish political thought developed through a myriad of translations and adaptations that allowed the spread of controversial political concepts and ideas. It is by means of this productive cross pollination of ideas that a particularly positive image of Queen Elizabeth Tudor becomes relevant to Mártir Rizo.

Esther Fernández closes the volume with her chapter 10, “Unma(s) king the Queen: Elizabeth I on the Early Modern Spanish Stage.” She explores two early modern Spanish dramas that draw on the political and

moral portrait of Queen Elizabeth: Antonio Coello's (1611–52) *El Conde de Sex* (The Earl of Essex) (1638) and Juan Bautista Diamante's (1625–87) *La Reina María Estuarda* (The Queen Mary Stuart) (1674). Even though both plays are based on historical events—the execution for treason of Essex, and the politico-religious conflict between Elizabeth Tudor and Mary, Queen of Scots (1542–87)—the two playwrights offer a purposefully distorted characterization of the English monarch, oppressed by the weakness of her body natural. In Fernández's reading, if the figure of the monarch has “two bodies” (Kantorowicz 1957), these dramatic and proto-nationalistic Spanish representations fictionalize the body natural of the enemy to divest the historical queen of her mythical body politic.

The Image of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Spain attempts an interdisciplinary approach in order to allow for a variety of research methods. It prioritizes historic scholarship due to the nature of the topic, but it also includes cultural, social, political, feminist, and performance studies analyses. As a result, our critical endeavors have by no means exhausted the archival material, and we invite our specialist readers to fill in the gaps. For now, we hope to provide a better understanding of the Spanish images of Elizabeth from the traces left by the circulation of peoples, the material context of the print trade, and the cultural, religious, political, literary, and theatrical codes embedded in early modern imagery.

NOTES

1. Eric Griffin has demonstrated how this, as he calls it, “Specter of Spain” has survived within Renaissance English Drama: “While the obsessive (if understandable) desire of the English to counter Hapsburg hegemony with innovative foreign policy strategies suggests the most obvious dimensions of the Spanish specter, this cultural formation looms over many more fields of endeavor than England's return to Mediterranean adventuring or its attempts to establish New World colonies [. . .] At some moments clearly manifest, at others barely visible, often contextually assume to be waiting just offstage, the specter of Spain was ever present in early modern England, often providing a crucial third term in the nation's negotiations with its neighbors, potential allies, or trading partners, and of course, its enemies” (3).

2. As John Edwards puts it, “Philip, ever the realistic and pragmatic, knew that antagonizing Henry VIII’s daughter would only make it more likely that she would undo his wife’s work and, given the level of support which she had in the country, he now believed that any attempt to disinherit her might provoke a civil war” (323).
3. After Elizabeth’s rejection, Philip moved on quickly, and on April 3, 1559, he signed the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis with Henry II of France (1519–1559). Besides keeping Franche-Comté, Milan, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the State of Presidi, Habsburg Spain also maintained indirect influence over most of Northern Italy. As part of the agreement, Philip married Henry’s fourteen-year-old daughter, Elizabeth of Valois (1545–1568), originally betrothed to Philip’s unfortunate son Carlos, Prince of Asturias (1545–1568). As the early Romantic Eugène Isabey’s painting, “The Departure of Elizabeth of France for Spain” (ca. 1858–1860) shows, France’s popular opinion was not particularly in favor of this marriage, and even though it was a clear political success for Spain’s ambitions, it did not seem to help Philip’s personal image, for he was perceived in Europe as an overly ambitious monarch who was trying to emulate and expand his father’s empire.
4. María José Rodríguez-Salgado explains the difficulty of the task Philip II requested of English Catholics such as William Allen, Robert Persons, or Charles Paget, which was to construct an argument to justify an invasion: “Since the best Lancastrian rights descend through the Portuguese family, Allen and others argued that as king of Portugal Philip had the better claim. Persons, Charles Paget and other exiles thought this was irrelevant” (*England, Spain*, 15). The problem presented by the succession theory was so obvious that Philip’s ambassador to Mary Tudor’s court in England, Don Enrique de Guzmán y Ribera, 2nd Count of Olivares (1540–1607) clearly objected to it: “Olivares was vexed by the contradictory evidence on the succession and ordered Persons and Allen to write to Philip directly. He was concerned by what he rightly perceived as dangerous and inconsistent aspects of Philip’s policy. If he claimed England by dynastic right rather than by right of conquest, and then a majority opinion declared in favour of the Farnese, Olivares argued, he would then lose everything. Moreover, if Philip justified his claim on strict hereditary succession he could not give the kingdom to Isabel as he intended, because this contravened the very principle of hereditary succession” (15–16).

5. M. J. Rodriguez-Salgado notes, "There was thus no declaration of war on either side, although the campaigns of 1588–89 left no doubt that a state of war existed" (*England, Spain*, 19). On the four hundredth anniversary of the launching of the first Invincible Armada in 1988 or, rather, the first English Campaign, a list of publications issued forth from England. See Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker, eds.; Peter Padfield; A. L. Rowse, ed.; Laurence Flanagan; N. A. M. Rodger; and Felipe Fernandez-Arnesto.
6. Peter Lake's recent *Bad Queen Bess? Libels, Secret Histories, and the Politics of Publicity in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I* (2016) follows the political discourse at the time and skillfully analyzes Protestant and Catholic pamphlets of the period. The book seeks to uncover the "libelous secret history" that both sides used to justify bold political, economic, and status interests under the facade of religious reasons (5). Lake deals with some of the negative representations of Elizabeth in the process (especially with regards to the notion of the "evil counselor"), and he also brings back Catholicism from the peripheral to the center of the historical debate. However, even though the figure of Elizabeth is constantly a part of that dialogue between Protestants and Catholics, she is not the main objective of that "resulting narrative" because she is always left, as Lake describes it, as a "shadowy figure of the queen herself." In his view, Elizabeth is a "shadowy" character "because for all the dominance of the reign, and indeed of so much of the historiography, by her image and person, at times it is extraordinary difficult precisely to attribute personal political agency or specific political intervention to the queen herself" (8).
7. The biblical female character of Queen Jezebel is profusely associated with Elizabeth I by Catholic authors for its negative implications of false prophet and "painted woman" or prostitute (and maybe also for the connotation of the lack of an heir according to the Hebrew meaning of Jezebel: "where is the Prince?"). On the Spanish image of Elizabeth as Jezebel, see Jesus-David Jerez-Gomez's chapter in this volume.
8. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*, 354.
9. In 1586, in a letter to the 2nd Count of Olivares (Enrique de Guzmán y Ribera, 1540–1607), Philip II plans to set Mary Queen of Scots on the English throne following its invasion of England. M. J. Rodriguez-Salgado notes that Philip was already thinking of choosing a "good" husband for her: "More importantly, since she was too old to bear children, Philip wanted to make arrangements for the succession before she took power, because 'after the

queen of Scotland dies it would be a grave impediment if she were succeeded by the king of Scotland, her son, who is a confirmed heretic. If this occurs all we will have achieved is to make the situation worse, and increased the power of the heretics at the expense of Catholic money and lives; because England, Ireland and Scotland will then be united and controlled by a *vigorous male*, whereas now they are divided and in the hands of a woman” (letter quoted in M. J. Rodriguez-Salgado, *England, Spain*, 9, my emphasis). Furthermore, Philip’s association with Ahab transfers also to Elizabeth as Jezebel thanks to another English representation, in *A relation of the King of Spaines receiving in Valliolid* by Robert Persons (or Roberto Person as he was known in Spain). In this account of the king and his family’s visit to the English College in August, 1592, Christopher Highley notes, “Typologically, Philip is imagined by Persons as the good King Abdias, sheltering the righteous prophets from the wrath of the wicked Jezebel—a popular biblical type for Elizabeth in Catholic polemic” (170–71). And in Highley’s reading of this relation, we can also see Philip II’s image as a motherly ruler, manufactured by an English Catholic: “Philip becomes a figure of the ideal androgynous sovereign who can both protect and nurture his subjects and friends. He is, in Persons’s formulation, both the masculine royal eagle of the House of Habsburg defending innocent pigeons (English Catholics) against birds of prey (Protestants) as well as the maternal ‘Eagle that protecteth hir litle ones, and as the hen that gathereth together her yong chickens.’ At one point in the narrative Philip is marked as a virtual divinity, the early equivalent of Christ, for the protection he offers English youth” (quoted in Highley, 171).

10. Michiel, “Venice,” 1058–9. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*. Vol. 6. The physical description of the young Elizabeth has a visual correspondence in a lost portrait by Joost de Hondt (Jodocus Hondius) probably in the 1580s. The oil painting (there are only photographs of it from 1886) is considered a more realistic depiction than some of the official portraits. It was probably owned by her best friend and constant companion for fifty-six years, Blanche Parry (1508–1590), Chief Lady-in-Waiting of Queen Elizabeth’s Privy Chamber and Keeper of Her Majesty’s jewels. See Ruth E. Richardson, *Mistress Blanche*. Note: the English report changed the Venetian ambassador name to Michiel, but his real name is Michieli.

11. In contrast to the general positive reception that Elizabeth's beauty had on foreign ambassadors, the cruel accounting of her image during her last years is well known, especially in the reports by the French ambassador Andre Hurault-Sieur de Maisse in 1595, and Paul Hentzner, a German visitor in 1598. Their descriptions highlighting the pathos of an aged queen still trying to look young are not included here as they do not form part of the Spanish or European Catholic representation of the queen, nor does the continuously critical vision of her image during or even after her reign. Roy Strong notes the conflict between her highness's desire to appear immortal and the foreign observer's perception of such an image: "The official image of the Queen in her final years was to be that of a legendary beauty, ageless and unfading. Such a vision contained within it an element of truth for, through the politic handling of her wardrobe and the expertise of her tirewomen, the Queen appeared to the outside world something of a goddess" (*The Portraits*, 19). For the first years of Queen Elizabeth, see Erickson (1983); and for the last decade of her queenship, see Guy (1995).
12. Quoted in Rodríguez-Salgado and Adams, *England, Spain*, 330. "Que vuestra magestad podia creer que ella le guardaría la buena amistad / que entre sus predecesores y los de vuestra magestad auia auído, por tres causas. La primera, porque quando ella estaua en prision vuestra magestad la ayudo y fauorecio a salir della; y que no se deshonorraua de dezir que auia sido prisionera, porque la deshonorra auia sido de los que la auian puesto en ella, pues nunca tuuo culpa jamas contra la reyna en hecho ni en dicho, ni tal confessaria. Luego passo a las otras dos causas, que eran: la amistad que auia auído siempre entresta casa y la de Borgofia, y auelle vuestra magestad embiado a prometer por don Diego de Azeuedo, y por don Alonso de Cordoua, y por mi, que le seria buen amigo" (translated by Rodríguez-Salgado and Adams, 321).
13. Quoted in Rodríguez-Salgado and Adams, *England, Spain*, 331. "Ella es vna muger vanissima y aguda: deuenle auer predicado mucho la manera de proceder del rey su padre. Tengo gran miedo que en las cosas de la religion no estara bien, porque la veo inclinada a gouernar por hombres que estan tenidos por ereges, y dizenme que las mugeres todas que andan cabo ella lo son. Tras esto, veola muy indignada de las cosas que se han hecho contra ella en la vida de la reyna; muy asida al pueblo y muy confiada de que lo tiene todo de su parte (como es uerdad), y dando a entender que el pueblo la ha puesto en el estado que esta. Y desto no reconsece nada a vuestra magestad ni a la nobleza

del reyno, aunque dize que la han embiado a prometer todos que le seran fieles. aya leuantado de la sepoltura para venir a ella con gran contentamiento. Esta puesta en que no se ha de dexar gouernar de nadie. Las personas con quien esta bien (a lo que entendi della) dire a vuestra magestad, y las con quien esta mal; y pareceme que sabe bien quien es cada vno de los que ay en el reyno, o a lo menos, los mas" (*sic*) (translated by Rodríguez-Salgado and Adams, 321–22).

14. One of the issues that has influenced the perception of Elizabeth and its interpretation has been the editing and online accessibility of the exchange of official documents between the two countries. Garrett Mattingly criticizes Manuel Fernández Álvarez's early work because its historical interpretation relies almost exclusively on the record of diplomatic dispatches. Wallace MacCaffrey's otherwise excellent book has the same problem, focusing considerably on the *Calendar of State Papers Foreign*, to the point of somehow missing the diversity of forces influencing the formation of international policy. The essays in this volume most probably will not be exempt from the same or similar criticism, even though we have the advantage of perceiving the insights as well as the gaps in this earlier important scholarship.
15. English Catholics' efforts to demonstrate their love for Spain is evinced by Hillgarth: "Creswell believed that Spain was more deeply loved by English Catholics than by those of any other country. Whereas 'the French have always been enemies and rivals of Spain and therefore it was easier to dissolve the union [of Spain and the Catholic League] the English have always been friends and allies of Spaniards [. . .] If any Catholic speaks against Spain the English Catholics suspect him of heresy [. . .] They are the only friends Spain has (*los solos amigos de España*)'" (418). In fact, the reality was not so partial since anti-Spanish sentiment in England was very pronounced. In 1555, when Philip's popularity in England was at its height, the first English anti-Spanish pamphlets were published. Two of them were especially influential: *A supplicacyon to the Quenes Majestie* and *A Warnyng for Englande*. While both attack Spain, they particularly warn English subjects against Spanish high taxes, which the people in Naples, Milan, and Flanders had suffered. See Hillgarth (353–54). The Elizabethan monarchy merely built upon this existing sentiment in the years to come, successfully spreading this anti-Spanish attitude throughout Europe.
16. In Mattingly's words referring to William Allen: "If he erred about the strength of the Catholics in England (and since he hoped much he may have erred), he

erred in good company. Burghley and Walsingham and the rest of the queen's council, Lord Grey and Sir John Norris and her other military advisers, were almost as much afraid of a Catholic rising if the Spanish landed as Allen was confident of it" (339). Hillgarth concludes: "The irony here is that the Spanish sources indicate that while Philip was prepared, as we shall see, to support the English seminaries in the Low Countries and Spain and also to supply pensions for leading refugees, he placed little or no reliance on any military support that the Catholics could provide. His lack of confidence was bitterly resented by the English leaders who were aware of it" (369).

17. Hillgarth includes a memorandum (ca. 1583) where Burghley warned Elizabeth against Papists: "Your strong and factious subjects are the Papists. Strong I account them both in number and nature: for by number they are able to raise against a great army, and by their natural and mutual confidence and intelligence they may soon bring to pass a unity with foreign enemies" (quoted in Hillgarth, 365). In the same communication, Burghley deals then with the most important among those enemies abroad: "Spain, yea Spain it is which all causes do concur to give a just alarm [. . .] First, in religion he (Philip II) is so much the pope's and the pope in policy so much is . . . [Philip] himself being prince whose closet hath brought forth greater victories than all his father's journies, absolutely ruling his subjects, a people all one-hearted in religion [in this superior to England], constant, ambitious, politick and valiant; the king rich and liberal, and, which of all I like worst, greatly beloved among all the discontented party of Your Highness's subjects" (quoted in Hillgarth, 365–66).
18. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*, 368.
19. See Julian Lock, "'How Many Tercios Has the Pope?'"
20. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*, 401.
21. As Machielsen notes, "even so carefully scripted a call for an international crusade as Richard Verstegan's *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temboris* (The theatre of cruelty of the heretics of our time, 1587) charged 'England,' not its queen, with vomiting 'the poison [of heresy] onto neighboring kingdoms and provinces'" (20).
22. Orwell and Reynolds, *British Pamphleteers*, 19.
23. Knox, "The First Blast," 21.
24. As Rob Content notes, this is not the earliest public proclamation about the queen's visual representation: "Warnings against the public use of images to criticize Queen Elizabeth were issued periodically during her reign. A royal

proclamation of 1563, to cite the earliest example, opened by announcing a broad extension of official control over royal image-making: ‘Hir majestie perceivth that a great number of her loving subjects are much greved, and take great offence with the errors and deformities already committed by sondry persons in this behalf [i.e., royal portraiture], she straightly chargeth all hir officers and ministers to see the observation hereof, and as soon as maybe to reform the errors allready committed, and in the meantyme to forbidd and prohibit the showing and publication of such as are apparently deformed until they are reformed which are reformable” (229). For Arthur M. Hind, even though this proclamation was just a draft, for “no proclamation is known to have been issued, actions may nevertheless have been taken, and my account for the lack of all but one impression of Geminus’s larger portrait of the Queen (at least to my knowledge)” (11). Thomas Geminus (1510–1562), was a pseudonym for the Flemish refugee Thomas Lambrit/Thomas Lambert, an engraver and printer, active from the 1540s in London. Hind notes that his “limitations as an artist may be estimated by his two plates of Queen Elizabeth, neither without some feminine charm as portrait” (9).

25. Strong, *The Portraits*, 40. Strong explains some of the details: “Those cases concerning pierced wax images were out and out black magic, of which the *cause-célèbre* was that of 1578–79, when three images—one supposed to represent the Queen—were found pierced with hog’s bristles” (*The Portraits*, 40) [. . .] “But even eliminating witchcraft proper, it is clear that it was a commonplace that to maliciously attack or deface a portrait of the Queen would somehow affect her” (40).
26. Content focuses on two English cases: *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf Whereinto England is Like to Be Swallowed by Another French Marriage* (1579) by John Stubbs, and *Old Arcadia* (ca. 1580) by Sir Philip Sidney.
27. For a study of the situation of the English recusants, see Elliot Rose, *Cases of Conscience*.
28. Machielsen, “The Lion,” 22.
29. Machielsen, “The Lion,” 32.
30. Quoted in Machielsen, “The Lion,” 19.
31. “Isabel Tudor, Célebre reina de Inglaterra, hija de Enrique VIII y de Ana Bolena,” in *Diccionario biográfico universal de mujeres célebres, o compendio de la vida de todas las mujeres que ha adquirido celebridad en las naciones antiguas y modernas, desde los tiempos más remotos hasta nuestros días*. (Universal biographical

- dictionary of famous women, or compendium of the life of all the women that has acquired celebrity in the ancient and modern nations, from the most remote times to the present day). “El gobierno español, viendo que tan abiertamente se le declaraba la guerra, se quejó primeramente en un manifiesto, de la insigne ingratitud de Isabel, para con el rey Católico, a quien sin duda alguna debía el trono” (my translation, 372).
32. “Y es necesario convenir en que Isabel supo dejar airosa su altivez en los momentos mismos en que toda la Europa la creía perdida por haber osado provocar el poder colosal de la España” (my translation, 372).
 33. Díez Canseco, *Diccionario biográfico*, 380–81. “Pocas reinas han sido como Isabel de Inglaterra, a un mismo tiempo tan dignas de elogio y tan justamente censuradas [. . .] Isabel era prudente y violenta, magestuosa y frívola, constante y veleidosa, capaz del amor más tierno y cruel e implacable en sus venganzas, celosa de su dignidad e hipócrita hasta rayar en lo ridículo. A pesar de todo cuanto en su artículo hemos dicho, sería una injusticia negar a esta soberana sus altas cualidades como gobernante: en efecto, ella elevó la Inglaterra a una altura en que jamás se había visto: pronta en sus resoluciones, valiente cuando el caso lo exigía y, afortunada, desafió y debemos confesarlo, triunfó del poder colosal de Felipe II” (my translation, 380–81).
 34. Hume is also very critical of Spain and Philip II; see his *Spanish Influence on English Literature* (96).
 35. As Griffin points out, much more balanced recent discussions of the event can be found in Felipe Fernández-Arnesto and in P. Gallagher and D. W. Cruickshank.
 36. “The England of the Catholic Hierarchy and the Norman Baron, was to cast its shell and to become the England of free thought and commerce and manufacture, which was to plough the ocean with its navies, and saw its colonies over the globe; and the first thunder roll and glitter through the forty years of the reign of Elizabeth with a grandeur which, when once its history is written, will be seen to be among the most sublime phenomena which the earth as yet has witnessed” (quoted in Armitage, “The Elizabethan Idea of Empire,” 271).
 37. See N. A. M. Rodger (“Queen Elizabeth”).
 38. Froude, *The History of England*, vol. 5, 147. As Milton Giles curiously notes, the first encounter of the English embassy was with Big Chief, or *Weroanza* Wingina, ruler of the Indians of Roanoke, whose exotic title “quickly captured

the imagination of the English colonists, and they began referring to their own queen as *Weroanza Elizabeth*" (116).

39. See J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*.
40. See particularly Geoffrey Parker on this issue. The direct response to Parker's argument is by Paul Allen. In addition, there have been some attempts to compare the Spanish to the Roman Empire. Thomas James Dandeleit refers mainly to Florian de Ocampo's *Crónica de España* (Chronicle of Spain) (1543) for the idea of locating "Spain's place in the classical past with respect to the Greek and especially the Roman Empire" (44).
41. Haigh, *The Reign*, 9. Anglo-Spanish historical relations have been of profound interest to English historians: Garrett Mattingly's *The Armada* (1959) is one of the first to highlight this military enterprise as the most important event marking all future dealings between the two countries. I. A. A. Thompson, one of the most prolific historians of Anglo-Spanish relations, has insisted on the importance of the "Mediterranean mentality" and the "incomplete transition from Mediterranean to Atlantic modes of warfare" as factors that explain the Armada's failure ("The Spanish Armada," 84). With John H. Elliot's *Europe Divided: 1558–1598* (1969), we understand that this naval conflict was a political and diplomatic struggle in the complex context of the religious differences in Europe at the time. William S. Maltby also first probed deeply into the so-called black legend and anti-Spanish sentiment in England (1971), and his line of research has been followed by many English and Spanish historians. Other studies have not been as influential; such is the case of A. J. Loomie's *The Spanish Elizabethans* (1963), a biographical analysis of five important English Catholics that has only recently been acknowledged and cited. For an exhaustive account of the English historiography, see Thompson ("Aspectos del hispanismo").
42. Henry Thomas and Carlos Gómez-Centurión Jimenez are examples of this latter constructive approach, and it is for this reason that we dedicate this volume to them. We appreciate Thomas's collaboration with Archer M. Huntington, founder of the Hispanic Society of America, for the publication of the facsimile in 1946 of the *Anti-English propaganda in the time of Queen Elizabeth. Being the story of the first English printing in the Peninsula. With two facsimiles* (Lisbon, 1597). Also known as the *Proclamation of Santa Gadea*, it is indeed the first known English text published on the Iberian Peninsula, consisting of a one-sheet document to be distributed once the Spanish navy reached

the English coast. Thomas's edition includes a one-page accounting by the merchant John Billet of his deposition containing the proclamation. There, Billet relates his fascinating adventure during which, while he was being detained on suspicion of being an English spy in one of the Spanish Armada ships docked in La Coruña, he stole this official propaganda leaflet from a barrel and hid it in his shoe. Billet's itinerary crossing the Channel, and his return with such an important document and story of its acquisition, tells about the dangers and difficulties of moving between these two countries at the time. His story includes detailed descriptions of how he disguised his name, accent, and dress to create a non-English identity. The text also helps us to understand the complex network of Elizabethan spies and collaborators on the Peninsula and beyond.

Gómez Centurión also deserves great credit for his sensitivity in approaching Anglo-Spanish cultural relations. His most relevant books are *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra y el comercio septentrional (1566–1609)* (1988) (Philip II, the England Enterprise, and the Northern Trade), and *La Invencible y la empresa de Inglaterra* (The Invincible and the England Enterprise) (1988), with its partial English translation in "The New Crusade: Ideology and Religion in the Anglo-Spanish Conflict" (in Rodríguez-Salgado and Simon Adams) and *La Armada Invencible* (The Spanish Armada) (1990).

43. King, "Queen Elizabeth," 36.
44. Most recently, the results of this early English and Spanish scholarship on the Elizabethan period can be observed in the work of a number of studies. Susan Doran's book on religion and Elizabeth (1998) along with Thomas S. Freeman's book on the creation of the myth of Elizabeth (2003) both downplay the importance of Elizabeth's gender in favor of her popular image as a Protestant ruler. In her excellent biography, *Queen Elizabeth I* (2003), Doran rejects the virgin analogies associated with her iconography meant for a broader audience and is skeptical of the gender-biased interpretations of the queen, as well as the ultimate influence of her advisors on her decisions. Carole Levin's work is, on the other hand, a sample of a more feminist reading of this sovereign with *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (2002) and *Politics of Sex and Power* (2013). See also the early work cataloging Elizabeth's images by Erna Auerbach (1953 and 1954). Susan Frye, and more recently, Anna Riehl, are good introductions to the complex analysis of the English interpretation of their queen.
45. Connolly and Hopkins, *Goddesses and Queens*, 7.

46. Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars* (1992) has helped us to understand the devastating impact that Elizabeth's turn to Protestantism had on English cultural patrimony while at the same time illustrating the slow resistance of the Catholic communities to abandoning their faith and religious tradition. Ultimately, Duffy's book demounts the artificial chronological division between old medieval and new Tudor progressive England. Hillgarth, like Doran, also explores the legend of Elizabeth, but from a more expansive point of view geographically, following the paths of English Catholic exiles in *The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth* (2000). Judith Pollman's *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands 1520–1635* (2011) is also an excellent analysis of the religious and political situation surrounding Anglo-Spanish relations as they were seen from the Low Countries. Further, Linda Shenk demonstrates how Elizabeth used her theologian background and religious education to present herself as a divine queen to her subjects (2010). All of these scholars have also benefited from new philological work by Janel Mueller, Leah S. Marcus, and Mary B. Rose (2000) and (2003). Our contributors to the present volume enter into a critical dialogue with these theoretical approaches as they analyze the Spanish image of Elizabeth I in the context of the different cultural products of the period.
47. Thomas McCoog SJ concentrates on those exiles in two volumes (a third forthcoming) on the history of the Society of Jesus (1996, 2011). Highley's *Catholics Writing the Nation* (2008) explores the history, politics, and angers of the English "Hispanolization." The English paranoia over the effect of foreign latitudes on their bodies reached absurd levels; a queen who never left England did not help: "People considering or promoting emigration [to the new world] feared effects extending beyond the initial period of adjustment, specifically the possibility that in leaving England they might be leaving their Englishness also, running the risk of becoming more like the Spaniard, whom they perceived as choleric and untrustworthy" (Kupperman, 214). For England's representation of Spaniards as ethnic, see Barbara Fuchs (2007).
48. José Manuel López de Abiada and Augusta López Bernasocchi more recently co-edited a richly illustrated volume (2004). Leticia Álvarez Recio (2006) offers the Spanish side of the Protestant reformation. Finally, I will mention Fernando Bouza, and especially his excellent introductory bilingual essay to the catalogue of the fascinating exposition, *Anglo-Hispana: Five centuries of authors, publishers and readers, between Spain and the United Kingdom* (2007).

- Bouza summarizes the laudable spirit of the exhibition with these words: “to provide an overview of the incessant movement of literary motifs, images, authors, language teaching/practice tools, reading material and books that took place between the two countries throughout the five centuries separating the reigns of Elizabeth I and Philip II from the first third of the last century” (57).
49. Among other works, our volume continues in the spirit of one of the first collaborations between English and Spanish scholars about their history: *England, Spain and the Gran Armada, 1585–1604: Essays from the Anglo-Spanish Conferences, London and Madrid, 1988*, edited by María José Rodríguez-Salgado and Simon Adams and published in 1991. We also follow the collection of essays *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554–1604* published by Anne Cruz in 2008. Cruz alludes to one of the main problems that has also inspired our work: “scholars of either country, whether in history or literature, prefer to examine the two nation-states from their own perspectives, separately and independently from the other” (xviii). The aim of Cruz and her contributors was to provide an inclusive effort to bridge and enrich both academic traditions, since “each side has tended also to ignore the other’s cultural production, with the unfortunate result that any correlation or contact that may have influenced the literature, art, and cultural milieu of both nations has gone, in the main, unnoticed and unstudied” (xviii). We definitely support and aspire to contribute to this effort with the present collection of essays, as well as to close the gap among scholars working not only on both sides of the English Channel, but across the Atlantic. In this regard, I also share the arguments made by Aranda Pérez and José Damião Rodrigues in their Luso-Spanish cooperative research in which they insist on the need to reach out to Spanish and Portuguese scholars: “creemos que no es posible continuar haciendo la historia de los reinos ibéricos en la ignorancia mutua de las respectivas historiografías” We believe it is not possible to continue making the history of the Iberian kingdoms over the mutual ignorance of their respective historiographies (my translation, 22).

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PART 1

Anglo-Spanish Relations and the
Politics of Elizabethan Queendom

CHAPTER 1

From Friendship to Confrontation

Philip II, Elizabeth I, and Spanish-English
Relations in the Sixteenth Century

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This chapter will explore the fluctuations in international relations between the Spanish Monarchy and England during the second half of the sixteenth century. As sovereign states, both defended their respective interests as well as their religious beliefs and rights, which were a permanent source of political conflict. The history of this period reveals an ongoing process whereby friendship between the two countries became direct aggression, and tolerance and respect became full confrontation. The results of such variations would alter the course of European history for centuries to come.

Focusing on the sixteenth century will help to explain diplomatic relations between England and Spain—relations that were frequently difficult due to cultural, political, religious, and economic differences—and will help to understand the vision that one country had of the other. These differences have given rise to the controversial expression “black legend” in the field of historiography. However, we must begin at the end of the fifteenth century in order to understand how and why relations between Philip II and Elizabeth I were forged as they were— that is, we must look to the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, Isabella I of Castile (1451–1504) and Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452–1516), in order to understand the ascendance of the Tudor dynasty in England.

In the case of the country known as Spain, we are referring to the union of the different realms that formed the Iberian Peninsula with the

exception of Portugal, under the government of two monarchs. Thus, we speak of the kingdoms and not really of the Spanish monarchs because the concept of Spain as a nation only began to take form during the second half of the sixteenth century. Until then, there prevailed a lack of internal structure, and the differences among the Castilian, Catalan, Aragonese, and Valencian peoples were evident in their mutual suspicion and disenchantment, which soon turned into hostility due to the progressive “Castilianization” of the successive monarchs who ascended the throne, and their repeated absences from the kingdom of Aragon. In addition, the monarchs’ opposition to granting exemptions, together with the few calls for parliamentary votes and other forms of denigration, led to intensified misunderstanding among the Spanish regions. The result of the intervention by the Spaniards against their enemies, in this case the English, was never a unanimous decision within Spain.¹ In the second half of the sixteenth century, relations between Spain and England turned from friendship to distrust, from mutual support to rivalry and confrontation. This shift took almost four decades, and during that time, disdain for anything related to England augmented among Spaniards, while anti-Spanish sentiments could be also observed in England. Anglophobia in Spain was comparable to the Hispanophobia taking place in England; political and economic divergences were more than evident; and the religious factor played a decisive role in both kingdoms. The historiographical term “black legend,” which demonized Spain and its culture, originated from the anti-Spanish propaganda spread by Spain’s enemies, including the Rebel Provinces of the Low Countries, England, and France.² The term conflates the various hostilities against the Spanish monarchs, especially against Philip II, whose title as “guardian of the Catholic Orthodoxy” in Europe forced him to open and sustain multiple war fronts.

One may well assume that Spain had earned international hostility, given that its King would not allow the slightest opposition to his policies, and that he did not see the need to justify his attitude beyond Spanish borders. The future, however, would prove that he had already lost the war on propaganda initiated by other countries. The costs of Spanish

superiority were soon to be evinced in European public opinion: the changes in alliances, the excess of treaties and their ruptures, the stubborn defense of Catholic orthodoxy, commercial interests and monopoly on the American trade—all these actions complicated Spain's relations with the Low Countries, France, England, Portugal, and Italy. While this chapter does not aim to deal with the singularity of each of these bilateral relationships, because they are all interconnected, it must allude to the correspondences and discrepancies between Spain and each of these powers. The motives for the hostilities were both political and religious: they included the immensity of Spanish political power, religious violence, and anthropological accusations against the Spaniards, the Inquisition, and its publicity. Given the adversary's discredit, the exaggerated accusations and the extremely efficient ideological and political propaganda all had serious repercussions.

It was the English who rallied all other European countries against Spain. English-Spanish relations enjoyed a period of friendship during the reign of Charles V and the first years of his son Phillip II, until 1568, when all goods belonging to Flemish and Spanish merchants were confiscated by Elizabethan orders. At the same time, a Catholic uprising was taking place in the North of England with the involvement of the Spanish ambassador, Guerau de Espés del Valle (1524–1572); and later other ambassadors would also come under suspicion.

The progressive decline of Spain and England's relations is an unfortunate and sad event that cannot be fully understood without delineating the situation prior to the start of the hostilities. Both powers traded with one another, and both were inclined to sign an alliance, at least until the events that took place in 1568, which will be discussed later. A majority of English merchants wanted a peaceful deal with Spain, London and Bristol being the main points of contact. Nevertheless, a definitive rupture would occur in 1585 when Philip II ordered the seizure of English ships in Spanish harbors. Outraged, English merchants openly opted for retaliation. The consequence of these missteps by Philip would be continuous attacks by pirate ships on the American and Spanish coasts.

England and Spain at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century

England's internal policies had a clear purpose: to establish an economic base for its external policies, which were aimed at Spain. At the time, England had little to offer, as it was a secondary power and had been racked by civil wars since the beginning of the fifteenth century. Those conflicts had devastated England economically, although it would not take long for the country to advance with the installment of the Tudor dynasty and in time become one of the most powerful modern states.³

Beginning with the reign of the Catholic Monarchs in Spain, and especially of Henry VIII and the emperor Charles V in the early sixteenth century, both states had one common purpose: to fight against Luther; Rome had gone so far as to give Henry VIII the title of "*defensor fidei*," Defender of the Faith.⁴ In addition, both nations knew one another and had been mutual friends in their confrontation against France for possession of the Italian territories of Naples and Milan; both nations were also against the Turks. These enemies had marked Spain and England's political affairs, especially in the case of the emperor. Against these enemies, Henry VIII had always shown his unconditional loyalty to Charles V although, as we know, these relationships would eventually change for the worse.

The friendship between the two realms may be studied in the rich documentation available in the Spanish Archives at Simancas, dating from the reign of the Catholic Monarchs and including alliances formed for economic and political reasons, as well as correspondence from the Spanish ambassadors in London. This archival documentation holds explanations for the changes in relations that occurred between the two countries. For both England and Spain, a relationship of alliance and friendship was convenient. In spite of England's initial reticence, in January 1496 it accepted a proposal by Isabella and Ferdinand of Spain that would benefit both powers: the signing of a military alliance that could be justified on the grounds of mutual defense; the marriage of the English prince, Arthur Tudor (1486–1502), and the Spanish princess, Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536), with a promised dowry of 100,000 gold doubloons; and a commercial treatise apportioning to the English the same rights

as those of the Spaniards on the Peninsula. It was clear that the alliance consisted of a series of agreements that had to be accepted as an indivisible whole. The negotiation's specifics delayed the main points of the trade deal, and the conditions of the dowry continued to be discussed during the following two years. Finally, English support in case of any attack from the Flemish against Spain was agreed upon, and the marriage took place on March 12, 1499.

Agreement was not easy to reach because of tensions caused by several events at the time of the death of John, Prince of Asturias, in 1497—the heir to the Spanish crown who was married to Margaret of Austria, Princess of Savoy and daughter of the Austrian emperor, Maximilian I (1459–1519). One such event was the birth of the first child of Philip I of Castile (1478–1506), Maximilian's son, who was married to Juana of Castile (1479–1555), the third daughter of the Catholic Monarchs.⁵ This kind of event could have derailed the accords signed between Spain and England, and/or changed the general goals of the allies in pursuing the dynastic interests of the respective crowns.

In 1502, the year Philip the Fair and Juana were recognized as monarchs by the Castilian *cortes* or parliaments, news of Arthur's death reached Spain. Since Catherine had been widowed, apparently breaking Spain's main tie with England, it was urgent to reestablish the alliance. A new marriage was proposed, this time for Henry, Arthur's brother and heir. The marriage treaty was signed by both countries in June 1503, with the mutual agreement of the two monarchies, which increased with the signing of a new alliance in 1508 and with Henry VIII's succession to the throne.⁶

From the beginning, the new English king demonstrated his affection and admiration for his father-in-law.⁷ Nonetheless, he signed a peace treaty with France a couple of years later while also signing an accord in which England would ally with Spain's enterprises against France as well as in disputes over any Italian or African territories. Indeed, a company of English archers took part in the African campaigns during the taking of Bugia and Tripoli, and another at the invasion and inclusion of the kingdom of Navarra into Spain in 1512. Henry VIII, intelligent and with

an attractive personality, at first followed his father's methods of rule. As he administered a well-organized treasury and tax system, he was keen on having England participate in international politics. By maintaining his close alliance with Spain, as corroborated by the letters he exchanged with the Spanish ambassadors in London, and his effusive words at his wedding with Catherine, he could continually renew peace agreements (although each time more vague and imprecise) with Charles I, who became king of Spain in 1517 and Holy Roman Emperor (as Charles V) in 1520.⁸

At the time, Henry's intent was to establish his kingdom's economic base to support a firm external policy that depended on his alliance with Spain. For Spain, England's support was essential for its potential confrontations with its three simultaneous enemies (France, the Ottoman Empire, and Lutheranism). For England, the alliance buttressed its intent to assume international prominence. These circumstances gave rise to the first disagreements. Spain's military success against the French at Pavia (February 1525), and the demands made by Charles V, provided the opportunity for an alliance that Henry VIII joined, for the first time, as an adversary against Spain. The allies of the Cognac League (1526)—Pope Clement VII, France, England, and Venice—defied the emperor at the same time as the English king reversed his stance toward Spain, while taking the first steps toward divorcing Catherine.

As time passed, the distance between the two kings increased. The fact that Spain had signed a peace treaty with France—which could not be taken lightly—and had made great efforts to contain the Ottoman attack on Vienna did not help turn things around. News of the sack of Rome by imperial troops shortly thereafter was received in England and France with surprise and indignation. The two powers immediately decided, in 1527, to join forces against the emperor. Concerned that enmity with England could mean the interruption of all communications between Castile and the Low Countries, Charles summoned the English ambassadors to Valladolid in a futile attempt to justify his actions.

Even though tensions continued to increase between Spain and England, Catherine's death and Anne Boleyn's execution seemed to

open the possibility for a new understanding between the two countries. The emperor recommended a different marriage alliance to the English monarch: he proposed that his niece Lady Frances Brandon (Frances Grey, Duchess of Suffolk, 1517–1559) marry Henry VIII, and his brother-in-law, Prince Luís—Isabel of Portugal's brother (1506–1555)—marry Mary Tudor. These matrimonies would prevent France from allying with England, and Henry would again obey Rome, or so Charles V thought. According to reports from the imperial ambassadors in London, Henry was amenable and even offered men and money for the war against the Turks, while revealing that France was trying to win him over—unsuccessfully—to their cause.⁹

The emperor, observing the changes in diplomatic relationships, had warned his son, Prince Philip, of the dangers of a possible confrontation with England: “because of the envy and suspicion that could arouse between the French king and [myself], and the fact that our lands in Flanders are so close to England, making our communications so important.”¹⁰ These recommendations must be understood within the context of Charles's decision to grant Philip the duchy of Milan in 1540, and the loss of Argel one year later, which immediately rekindled the war with France. In 1543, therefore, it was not difficult for Charles to obtain England's help, partly because of England's refusal to accept France's marriage alliance with the Scottish Stuart dynasty, traditionally their enemy. However, one year later the situation would turn again as the peace treaty between Spain and France, signed in Crépy in 1544, deeply disturbed England. Nonetheless, the financial decline of all the countries involved, the opening of the Council of Trent in 1545, and the deaths of the French king Francis I (1494–1547), and England's Henry VIII two years later initiated a new period for Spanish-English relations.

Henry VIII's nine-year-old son and heir, Edward VI (1537–1553), inherited a kingdom governed by regents and the State Council; however, since he was the first English monarch raised as a Protestant, the schism between the two countries was increasingly radicalized, causing growing religious dissidence. The situation that followed is understandable given

the intensification of attacks by English pirates on Spanish ships from the Indies, and England's systematic violation of the existing monopoly; the inefficient official complaints by the powerful dignitaries in London and Madrid; and the increasing concern of the emperor, who understood the serious difficulties his heir would have to face in order to maintain the union between the Low Countries and Spain. When Mary Tudor inherited the English throne in 1553, Charles V strove to obtain a new and promising marital alliance: the marriage of his son, Philip, who had already been proclaimed king of Naples, with the English queen. The age difference between the aunt and his nephew was of no concern, as the emperor was most interested in making sure that, with England's support, his son would control the Low Countries. The support would come free of charge because it was understood that the marriage's issue would inherit England and Flanders. No such heir was born, however, and Philip was forced to face a much more difficult scenario with England.

Mary knew how to organize the return of her country to Catholicism. Although in the beginning she acted with caution, she subsequently applied measures that earned her the epithet of "Bloody Mary," which stirred the anger of her people. Her marriage to Philip, on July 25, 1554, was not favored by most English subjects, and civil disorders against this union spread across the entire country. Curiously, Charles and his son had always viewed the alliance with England as a means of ensuring the preservation of the Low Countries, believing that the two kingdoms shared the same interests.

However, the anger that ensued from the implementation of new laws against heresy, followed by Mary's death, drove the English to deposit their trust in her sister Elizabeth. As the threat of subordination to Spain seemed to be vanishing, a period of slow decline in political cooperation between the two countries was beginning. Charles V died that year as well. In the past, he had warned his son and heir, Philip II, of numerous delicate matters that impinged on his future as monarch. Referring to England, he warned him to be careful about befriending the English and to be cautious with the French regarding the Burgundy duchy, usurped

by France, because “it was difficult to be friends with them.” As to the Scots, Charles told his son to try to establish “an accord with them, to safeguard trade and navigation, as there is nothing more to do there.”¹¹

In my opinion, Charles revealed in these recommendations his ability to prepare his son for future negotiations with England, so he would know very well what to expect. Philip intended to respect and follow his father’s advice by not tolerating any offense to Catholicism and, as a firm defender of the Catholic cause, by opposing the Protestant line of defense sponsored by Elizabeth I. Fifteen years later, such a departure, especially from 1569 onward, would turn into openly declared hostility.

Philip II and Elizabeth I: Friends, Adversaries, Enemies

Here it is convenient to consider how the two monarchs chose to reign and how they behaved regarding national and international politics while public interest increased about the image that each entertained of the other. In general terms, there were many reasons for constant suspicion and rivalry between the two countries: first and foremost, the complaints from merchants were continuous and based upon actions taken by privateers and corsairs, protected by Elizabeth with the excuse that they were pursuing contraband.

The dispute persisted as claims made by the Spaniards were ignored by English authorities and their courts of law, despite continuous abuses and violations of Spain’s maritime boundaries and sovereignty. The complaints from Spain also included problems dealing with naval enterprises, fear of the English presence in America (particularly in Honduras), and clear abuses regarding the trade and sale of Spanish wool. These grievances were deeply rooted in the past and gave rise to mutual resentment and distrust, causing the English to form a strongly negative stereotype of Spaniards, as can be seen in the writings of numerous travelers, soldiers, and diplomats.

It is important to note that the image one country holds of another derives from many factors, whether they are competitors, willful enemies, or unequal opponents. In the sixteenth century, the European

monarchies' opinion of a competing foreign power was never the same as one held of an ally who desired peaceful and stable political relations. The immense power of the Spanish monarchy, especially during the sixteenth century, produced constant conflict in Europe, but the Spaniards had virtues as well as defects, as did the other actors at this time in European history.

The political circumstances at this complex moment cannot be separated from what was occurring between Flanders and Castile or between England and Flanders. These three powers formed a very solid triangle, with unpredictable consequences. Both monarchs, who assumed their thrones under very different circumstances, would eventually face different fates: the Spanish king reigned with unquestioned authority; the English queen could do so only after her father, following the deaths of her siblings Edward VI and Mary Tudor, had rectified her illegitimate status to include her again in the line of succession.

The two monarchs also had points in common. Both faced serious financial difficulties: Philip first declared bankruptcy in 1557, while Elizabeth inherited a kingdom rife with inflation and political instability. They also shared, at least in the beginning, the same religion since Mary Tudor had restored Catholic orthodoxy in England. But this situation would not last as Elizabeth considered the pros and cons of returning to the defense of the Protestant religion founded by her father. France, allied with Scotland, Spain, and Ireland, rejected the decision that Elizabeth would proceed to make. However, it was done in an intelligent and judicious manner that suited her convictions very well, without causing unwarranted confrontations among her subjects and confirming her independence from other countries once she decided to take this path.

Ultimately, she relied on the defenders of the Church of England to protect her throne, even though she knew this would lead to a direct confrontation with Spain. Consequently, she worked to expand England's naval force and maritime politics, elevating her monarchy to one of the most glorious in England's history while determining its future relations with Spain. Elizabeth's compulsion to increase English power emboldened

piracy against the Spanish trade monopoly in America as she took all actions necessary to diminish her adversary's hegemony.¹²

The two monarchs soon turned from relentless rivals into merciless enemies, although Philip was related by law to Elizabeth for having married her sister and had come to her aid during a difficult moment for her in 1554 when she was incarcerated and he helped her to escape. For a brief time, it had appeared that an alliance between the two countries could be maintained, given also the well-known episode of Philip's proposal of marriage to Elizabeth and, if not to him, then to his heir, Don Carlos.¹³

During their first years as monarchs, both proceeded according to their objectives. In the first Parliament convoked by the queen, her position regarding religion became clear: she announced that she would withdraw her ambassador from Rome, and she took steps to separate England from the Catholic faith. Don Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, Count of Feria and first Spanish ambassador in London, tried to make the queen see that her decision would draw her away from any possible friendship with Spain. Philip supported the idea of a quick intervention in England as long as it was cloaked in the secrecy and dissimulation that such an endeavor requires, and he even sent funds to finance it. However, he also asked his counselors to be prudent as he awaited the results, fearing France's intervention in English affairs.¹⁴

Confirmation of the Protestant religion as the official faith in England together with a financial collapse in Spain forced the Spanish king to sign the peace treaty of Cateau-Cambresis with France in 1559. Accordingly, Spain's borders were drawn surrounding France with an arc that began in Spain itself, passed by the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, and Sicily to Naples, the Tuscan harbors, Parma, Milan, with Corsica, Genoa, and Savoy-Piedmont linking the Franche-Comté and the Low Countries. The loss of Calais was also confirmed, becoming a French possession. The treaty included the marriage of Philip II to Isabel de Valois (1545–1568), daughter of the French king Henri II (1519–1559). In addition, he had married his son and heir, the future Francis II (1544–1560), to Mary Stuart

(1542–1587), the queen of Scotland. The agreement signed by France and Spain, therefore, seriously compromised England's interests.

Elizabeth I tried to make the most out of this situation, although she had been warned about the dangers of meddling in continental affairs. She decided to propose an ambiguous policy so as not to completely break with Spain because she needed to trade with the Low Countries. A tense environment engulfed the prevailing alliance between both countries with some disputes and suspicions, but also without serious conflicts until the Open Rebellion of the Low Countries in 1566. The English and the Spanish monarchies watched France nervously, despite the peace treaty that Spain and France had signed. Europe's unease was justifiable insofar as its political map depended on the diplomatic movements of the three powers and their allies. The various ambassadors stationed in England, aware of this situation, aimed at resolving a series of problems that came up in the following years, such as Elizabeth's intervention in Scottish matters, claims of piracy, protection of the Catholic religion in England, and the queen's open support of the Flemish and the Huguenots. In general, however, the envoys were considered devious, dishonorable, and of bad faith, as described by most Simancas documents regarding this topic. Although some carried out their mission efficiently, their task was never easy as they had to follow orders from their superiors and were not free to move on their own initiatives; also, they were in hostile territory working in very poor economic conditions, which they often subsidized with their own funds.

The years 1566 to 1572 were crucially important to the relationship between the two monarchs. For the first time, they had an open confrontation and their governments were forced to revise their international politics. Also, for the first time there arose the notion that England and Spain might defy each other, and that France was no longer the most conflict-producing country in Europe.¹⁵ On the other hand, this was not a confrontation between two enemies, but rather a product of the international pressure that implicated them in European politics; therefore, a move by one kingdom and a possible alliance with its previous

enemy could start a chain reaction with unpredictable consequences. Some ambassadors were sent as peace agents, such as Guerau de Espes del Valle, from 1568 to 1572, who witnessed and participated in one of the most complicated periods in the two countries' histories. Guerau de Espes was accused of conspiracy and expelled from London.¹⁶ He described William Cecil, one of the greatest English politicians of the time, as "a middle class man, but very cunning, false, a liar, and full of artifice. He is a great heretic, and an English clown who believes that all Christian princes together are unable to put an end to the supremacy of England."¹⁷ This disparaging description and tone is similar to that found in other documents that were also written at the time by both the English and Spanish. One pamphlet that circulated affirmed that, for the Spaniards, Queen Elizabeth was the "Jezabel of the North":

a thin woman, very fearful, her scepter her own sins, and seated so high on the royal throne that her fall will be even more miserable; [. . .] a woman who is not the legitimate queen, as she was born from an infamous marriage condemned by the Pope [. . .]; a heretic and blood-thirsty woman, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, an emulator of such parents . . . a woman tormented by her own conscience and an enemy of all Christian kings, and deeply hated by them.¹⁸

The matter of Scotland worried Elizabeth as well, since it was obvious that she would not provide England with an heir, and that Mary Stuart, "their queen," was destined to occupy the English throne. This order of succession was due to the marriage between James IV of Scotland (1473–1513) and Margaret Tudor (1489–1541), daughter of Henry VII, who gave birth to James V (1512–1542), Mary Stuart's father. A loyal defender of Catholicism, Mary was viewed by her cousin Elizabeth as a serious threat. After Francis II's death in 1560, she married her cousin, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley (1545–1567), giving birth to James VI of Scotland (1566–1625), the future James I of England. A few months later, Darnley was murdered and, after a revolutionary period, the Protestant Party prevailed. Mary, loyal to Catholicism, unsuccessfully opposed the rebels and sought refuge

in England, where she would remain for eighteen and a half years in Elizabeth's custody. She was always an unnerving guest for Elizabeth, as she was the legitimate heir to the English throne, and there are still doubts as to whether Mary took part in any plots against the queen. To prevent French influence in Western Europe, Spain had refused to support the Scottish cause as long as Mary was married to a member of the Guise dynasty. Nonetheless, Spain supported her as the legitimate Catholic heir to the English throne, which would eventually lead to a Spanish ambassador's expulsion and to Mary Stuart's execution in 1587.

Mary's death, after she was accused of participating in attempted regicide, hastened the end of French influence in Scotland and forced England to confront Spain and the rest of Catholic Europe. But that moment was yet to come. In the meantime, Elizabeth began to take more liberties in pursuing her expansionist objectives, immediately colliding with the Spanish monopoly in the new world. Hostilities were constant in 1559, 1560, and 1561. On such occasions, Philip II always responded patiently to English aggression, confiscating English goods but remaining fully aware that Elizabeth had no intention of desisting, as piracy was a significant source of income for her badly damaged economy.¹⁹

From then on hostilities and naval confrontations were constant, despite the legal grounds for Spain's exclusive rights to its recently conquered territories.²⁰ The English maintained a policy of infringement with regard to this monopoly: John Hawkins (1532–1595) carried out the first slave trading expedition to the Caribbean islands in 1562–1563, and one year later two ships heading for Spain from the Low Countries were attacked by pirates; Hawkins repeated his exploit, this time with royal support and backed by ministerial financial investment. Four years later, for the third time, he attempted a similar feat, this time with fruitless results.²¹

In the end, England's collusion with Flemish rebel leaders in the Low Country provinces, the constant attacks on Spanish and Flemish ships carrying goods destined for the increasingly unstable trade across the English Channel, and the fact that the port of Le Havre had become a nest of pirates, forced Spain to take action.²² However, measures such as

temporarily suspending the importation of English products were of no use, as the English responded in like manner, forbidding the importation of products from the Low Countries and all exports. The Spaniards also decided to close all Spanish harbors to the queen's navy, to seize all English ships in Spanish harbors at that time, and to take other similar measures that led to what could be called a general trade crisis among England, the Low Countries, and Spain. This crisis anticipated the events of the following years; of course, by then the break between the two countries could no longer be repaired or reversed. The incidents in America continued and the mutual aversion grew with a second interruption of trade contacts (1568 and 1573) and worsened because of measures taken by Fernando Álvarez of Toledo, 3rd Duke of Alba (1507–1582), named governor of the Low Countries in 1567. The regiments he led in his fight against the Flemish rebels took positions thirty miles from the English coast of Kent and approximately one hundred miles from London and the estuary of the Thames, which was interpreted by England as a possible invasion by Spain. Furthermore, one particular incident led to the complete breakup of Spain and England's alliance: the hijacking and confiscation of five Genoese ships that were heading to Brussels with money to pay Alba's troops and seeking protection from French pirate attacks in English harbors. As diplomatic complaints had proved ineffective, Philip II's response was to swiftly seize the possessions of all English residents in the Low Countries. The queen countered with the same actions against Spanish and Flemish traders established in England.²³ The result once again was the imminent collapse of trade among England, the Low Countries, and Spain.

These events, which were not solely issues with England, were further complicated from 1569 to 1573 by the first conspiracies against Mary Stuart, the Catholic uprising in the north of England, the excommunication of Elizabeth I, and the Ridolfi plot to overthrow the queen.²⁴ Meanwhile, Spain experienced rebellion in the Low Countries, the uprising of the Moriscos, and the battle of Lepanto, while France dealt with her first religious wars and a possible peace with England. It seemed time, therefore, for France to sign an agreement with England in order to block Spain, as

was learned from the letters sent to Madrid by the Spanish ambassadors explaining England's attachment to the French cause.

In the following years, all the participants continued to play a game of confrontation and alliances: in 1570 Elizabeth briefly considered marrying the French king's brother, Francis, Duke of Anjou (1555–1584). The trade deal between France and England in 1572, however, was successful until it was interrupted by the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre that took place in Paris, on the evening of August 23, and by the anti-Catholic violence that resulted in England. With a civil war between Huguenots and Catholics spreading throughout French territory, France stepped aside, leaving England to vie with Spain once more. The Treaty of Bristol was signed in 1574, solving the trade tensions at least momentarily. However, the peace between the two powers was short-lived, as the following year a "cold war" began due to crucial events that occurred under Elizabeth's authority: Drake's pillaging of Callao; Spain's resolute support of Irish resistance to English rules of religion; numerous attempts by Spain to counter-block trade in the Low Countries; the flight to England of the heir to the throne of Portugal, and the great support he received for his cause against Philip II; the conspiratorial plot by the ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza, in favor of Mary Stuart's religious fundamentalism, and his expulsion from court in 1584 after being accused of participating in a plot against Elizabeth. Earlier, in 1573, the new governor of the Low Countries, Luis de Requesens y Zuñiga (1528–1576), had promised pacification and clemency, while Elizabeth had promised to close England to the Flemish rebels. In fact, in 1574, Philip II had begun a great naval enterprise (150 ships and 12,000 sailors) to strengthen the Flemish war machine, while at the same time trying to send military aid and provisions to the Irish who sympathized with the Catholic cause.²⁵ The proverb "whoever takes England, must take Ireland first" was widely heard and repeated, but neither action proved possible. Spanish troops were occasionally present in Ireland during the sixteenth century, and they even fought against the English (as in the case of the siege of Smerwick in 1580), but the expected Flemish help never arrived, with the result that Spanish troops stationed

there were exhausted. In 1577, Francis Drake (ca. 1540–1596), taking advantage again of the situation and in spite of the still valid Bristol commercial agreement, crossed the Atlantic with a large expedition, passing through the Magellan Strait, sailing up the Pacific coastline, and pillaging Callao. He then plundered the Spanish fleet taking silver to Panama, crossed the Atlantic, and reached Plymouth three years later. He was knighted by Elizabeth for this act of piracy. Other corsair attacks at the time devastated the coasts of Chile and Peru, affirming English patriotism and revealing the weakness of Spanish imperial defenses.

All these events signaled the imminence of a final breakup when dynastic and historical circumstances allowed Phillip II to assume the Portuguese throne in 1580. Spain then had to devote full attention to conserving and strengthening its domains in the Atlantic world. Drake did not seem impressed by this reality when in 1585 he sailed from Plymouth toward India with a navy of 21 ships and 2,000 men and attacked the Spanish city of Vigo. From there, he headed to the Canary Islands where he confronted several caravels in La Palma and El Hierro, as well as in the Green Cape Islands, where he set fire to the city of Santiago. He crossed the Atlantic to reach the Dominica and Saint Christopher islands, then went ashore in January 1586 in Hispaniola, taking the city and setting fire to part of Santo Domingo, which he besieged for an entire month. He gave the same treatment to Cartagena de Indias, which remained under his control for a month and a half. In March, already heading home, he reached the west end of Cuba and sailed up the coast of Florida, scorching the mythical bridge of Saint Augustine. He finally arrived at Portsmouth in July 1586.

Drake spread terror in his wake, which was too much for Spain to bear. It was a defiance that Philip II could not tolerate, so he prepared to mount a full attack, having noticed the Spanish traders' restlessness. The cold war warmed up in 1585: confrontation became inevitable, with Spanish troops launching an offensive directly on English territory. Together with these events, English support was justified in Elizabeth's own words "to aid the defense of the troubled and oppressed people of the Low Countries."²⁶ It is true that England's desire to expand was held back

by Spanish hegemony. However, although anti-Spanish sentiment had existed since before 1558 due to the aforementioned conflicts in trade and religion, Elizabeth emboldened her people to react against those resounding actions that, to her mind, were unbearable, such as the Duke of Alba's military abuses, the siege of Antwerp (1576), and Spain's military belligerence.²⁷ Yet another factor was England's need to increase the size of its navy. The queen deployed her impressive propagandistic skills to manipulate the collective imagination, openly expressing disdain toward Philip II and rejection of the Spanish character, and clearly ascribing to God's intervention England's victory over the Invincible Armada in 1588.

This year is crucial to understanding the major conflicts between Spain and England, as this confrontation was not linear but based on a world of economic interests, political strategies, and opposing religious ideologies and attitudes. Powerful interests and factors had prevailed for over thirty years, such as the traditional alliance between the Habsburg and Tudor monarchies, encouraged by their mutual hatred of France, Spain's need to secure maritime communications with northern Europe, and the economic alliance that existed between England and the Low Countries. Only when these interests dissipated on an international scale did conflict between Spain and England intensify. This showdown had been encouraged before by Spain's military, diplomats, and civil servants, yet Philip had not supported it, preferring to maintain a patient contention policy.

The Spanish king, however, had already performed calculations, and his patience had come to end. Over the previous five-year period, with the incorporation of Portugal into the Spanish kingdom and the victory in the Azores archipelago (1581–1583), Álvaro de Bazán, Marquis of Santa Cruz (1526–1588), expressed to the king the need to reconsider the idea of invading England after these victories had been obtained. But the king was not of a similar opinion; he believed it was not the right moment as he was concentrating his efforts and resources on the Low Countries' uprising. Flanders had been under a new governor, Alexander Farnese, Philip II's nephew, since 1578, but even though he was a great military strategist, there was no money to fight the insurgents.

Philip accelerated his decision mainly for three reasons: the expulsion of the Spanish ambassador Bernardino de Mendoza in 1584 from England, the death of the leader of the Flemish rebels William of Orange (1533–1584) that same year, and the economic support and official protection Elizabeth gave to the rioters after Farnese's advances. The king had confirmed what he already suspected when he learned of the Treaty of Nonsuch signed by the Flemish rebels and England in 1585, which would be renewed later in 1598. When he found out that an expeditionary force of almost seven thousand men was ready to cross the English Channel under the command of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (1532–1588), in order to block Spain's progress, it became clear that war with Spain was imminent. Ultimately, this proved to be an opportunity as it revealed England as the true enemy of the Catholic monarchs. The Hispanic Monarchy believed England was prepared to interfere in Portugal, the Spanish Low Countries, and the Indies convoy system.

Philip knew that Elizabeth had to be stopped and decided to use any means at his disposal to do so. He could not allow or tolerate England's support to the rebels in the Low Countries, nor its interference on the American coasts. He realized he had to force an alliance with the queen, provoke a Catholic revolt in England, and send an army across the Channel of such dimensions that the queen would have no option but to sign a peace treaty.

The execution of Mary Stuart, ordered by the English queen in February 1587, convinced the new pope, Sixtus V (1521–1590)—who was at the time an enemy of Spanish hegemony in Europe—to approve the so-called English enterprise as an opportunity for two ideologically opposed factions to confront each other. This led to increased tensions between the two countries, which they both experienced with heightened sensitivity. Two principal factors had turned them into enemies: open military aggression and England's religious difference. Yet these were not the only reasons conditioning their irreconcilable antagonism *a priori*. The figure of the Englishman, traditionally identified in Spain with the image of the merchant, was soon transformed into that of the pirate and the heretic—that is, the enemy that must be defeated.

Such an open and full-fledged war was accelerated by the problem in the Spanish Low Countries as the rebels won English sympathies in their fight against Catholic hegemony, and both turned the other's cause into their own. There were therefore political, religious, and economic factors behind the great Armada of 1588. In addition, there was a propaganda war fueled by advertising and discourses on both sides, preparing the public for what was to come and predisposing each side for the inevitable. In Spain, the object was to win over public opinion and to demonstrate that what the king was about to do was the right thing.

It seems that Philip II, who carefully oversaw the internal front of the political campaign, was unable to establish an effective publicity network to ensure his good image in the international arena. Published documents from this period show that the English goal was to counteract Spanish influence in northern Europe by portraying Spain as the main obstacle to religious freedom. These documents also represent Spain as an imperial power that intended to maintain unjust dominion over the Low Countries and to interfere in France's internal politics in support of the Catholic cause.²⁸ Moreover, the English portrayed Spain as a country where the Lutheran faith was persecuted, utilizing the terror of the Inquisition to pursue all types of heretics.

Philip's enemies depicted him as an advocate of the Counter-Reformation and Protestantism's worst enemy; they were indignant that the defense of the Catholic faith in Europe was controlled by Spain (hence the term "imperialist" ascribed to Philip II) and that Catholic interests melded with the Spanish king's hegemonic thrust. Meanwhile, Spanish and European Catholicism disseminated the notion that this was a just and necessary war, oriented for the protection of commercial interests, to defend the Spanish Low Countries by sea and by land from an interminable war instigated by the English, and to safeguard Spain's own coastline, which was constantly under attack by pirates, especially the areas of Galicia and Andalusia.

Ultimately, the war against England became a uniting endeavor for all the European states. This collective effort had immediate effects despite

the heightened tensions at times between the two powers. The image of a hostile and enemy England soon became very real, as well as the idea that Elizabeth was a cruel queen and the incarnation of all that was evil in the world. To Spaniards, Elizabeth assumed the figure of a fragile and feminine woman when she so desired. She could also be mendacious, vain, promiscuous, frivolous and extravagant, suspicious and jealous, inconstant in political matters, cruel with her traitors, indifferent to the sufferings of her own people, sickly, nervous, and a frequent depressive. Yet she was also viewed as strong and energetic, arrogant, proud, chaste, cultivated, loyal to her subjects, miserly, astute, firmly independent, and an untiring administrator. This contradictory image was no doubt influenced by Counter-Reformation propaganda that attempted to spread to other Catholic countries the terrifying image of a cruel and impious schismatic queen.²⁹

In Spain, victory was assured because the enterprise was presented as a great and invincible military endeavor at a time when nothing could go wrong, inspiring confidence and sureness to the Spaniards and terror to others. There was absolute faith in the power of the Catholic Monarchy and in the victory of its cause: "Tell them that triumph and glory are certain, and that Spain is already singing the victory song," wrote Miguel de Cervantes in those months.³⁰ Similarly, the ballads by Juan de Mesa are dedicated to the enterprise aimed at defending Spanish and religious common interests against a heretical enemy: "Invincible and of memory / Phillip King of Spain / the high King sovereign / would give you health and victory."³¹

In England, the threat of an invasion fomented both English patriotism and hatred against Spain and Rome, demonstrated by at least twenty-four popular songs about "the Invincible" and other anti-Spanish ballads. The failed invasion of 1588 would strengthen English determination and although there was another Armada in 1596 and a third the following year, along with more support for the Catholics in Ireland, all these failed. In addition, Elizabethan propaganda made good use of the circulation of books in English dealing with Spanish cruelty toward

American natives on their lands, which had an obvious effect in England and throughout Europe.

On August 9, 1588, when the Spanish Armada reached the English coast, the queen sailed down the Thames to Tilbury to meet her troops, delivering the legendary attributed speech whose spirit would later justify the rejection felt by the Spaniards:

Wherefore I am come among you at this time but for my recreation and pleasure, being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live and die amongst you all, to lay down for my God and for my kingdom and for my people mine honor and my blood even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king and of a king of England too by the scorn that Parma or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm.³²

Queen Elizabeth I presented herself as the enemy of the Catholic God; therefore, she was the enemy of Spain. Through Spanish eyes, her country, where the martyrs of the Catholic cause were being cruelly tortured, was considered a land of evil. The great Armada was supposed to be the divine instrument with which to evangelize the English territories, as had already occurred in the Indies.

The Last Decade of the Sixteenth Century

The story of the “Invincible” Armada is well known, and it is not necessary to dwell on the events that led to its failure.³³ However, it is important to remember that it sailed from Lisbon to England on May 28, 1588, carrying 130 ships, 2,341 cannons, and around 30,000 men. As soon as it reached Cape Finisterre at the end of June, storms forced it to seek refuge in La Coruña. When the Armada sailed again and headed toward the English Channel, it was attacked at Calais by fireships and was forced to return to its point of origin, sailing around the dangerous coasts of Ireland and Scotland. During the following month and a half, one third of its ships were lost on the Irish coasts; half its men perished due to thirst, hunger, and being captured and killed by the English.

The news of the Armada's failure delighted the English, Dutch, and French alike. In Spain, the setback was officially interpreted as a divine decision that God did not yet wish to punish the heretics, and that the failure was a consequence of their collective sin. But this failure, far from signaling the end of Spanish naval power, contributed to Philip's decision to establish a permanent Armada on the Atlantic at the service of the Crown.³⁴ The first step in this regard was the construction of twelve new galleons—the famous “twelve apostles”—under royal administration, rather than by private investment, in order to compensate for the losses suffered in 1588.

In the following years, the two nations continued to battle at sea and confrontation went on as before. There was still time for a second Armada in 1596; however, bad weather caused it to disperse and seek refuge in the port of El Ferrol, with the loss of one third of the ships. The third and last Armada sent by Spain against England sailed in autumn of 1597 with 136 ships and 300,000 men. When this Armada reached the Channel, it was also hit by a storm and as result lost its formation and dispersed. After 1595, Spain maintained two critical fronts against England and Holland, and also against France, efforts that drained the nation's economy and spirit.

Little by little, the various peace treaties made by Spain—with France in 1598, with England in 1604, and with the Flemish in 1609—would eventually end the open conflicts in the Atlantic. Twenty years of continuous wars had left a trail of hatred and mistrust that would mark both countries' relations. Only the death of the two great enemies, Philip in 1598 and Elizabeth in 1603, allowed for a weak and unstable truce. However, the resources of both kingdoms were exiguous by then and peace was essentially an imposition. Ultimately, good sense prevailed over enmity: Sir Walter Raleigh suggested to England's new king, James I, the conditions of the peace agreement to be signed with Spain. The Treaty of London was signed on August 28, 1604; Spain, on her side, accepted a twelve-year truce—a cessation of hostilities, rather than peace—with the Flemish rebels in 1609 that lasted until 1621. Later hostilities would be resumed with their traditional enemies. But that is another story.

NOTES

1. On the “black legend,” see Ricardo García Cárcel, *La Leyenda Negra: Historia y Opinión* (The black legend: history and opinion), 22–26.
2. The “Low Countries” corresponded roughly to the Seventeen Provinces covered by the Pragmatic Sanction of 1549 of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. After the northern Seven United Provinces of the Seventeen declared their independence from Habsburg Spain in 1581, the ten provinces of the Southern Low Countries remained occupied by the Army of Flanders in Spanish service and are therefore sometimes called the Spanish Netherlands.
3. At that time, the kingdom of England did not include all the British islands, as Scotland formed an independent kingdom and was an enemy to its neighbor, Ireland, which had been conquered, at least theoretically, in the twelfth century, although it had only been subdued north of Dublin, so the actual English kingdom was formed only by England and Wales. The arrival of the new dynasty meant taking the first steps to restoring royal authority and to establishing an authentic and strong monarchy.
4. See Magdalena de Pazzis Pi Corrales, “Inglaterra y la política extranjera de Carlos V” (England and the foreign policy of Charles V), 69–83. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.
5. The “State Section” (“Sección de Estado,” legajo 5) of the *Archivo General de Simancas* (hereafter AGS) contains numerous documents that reveal the almost daily negotiations by Isabella and Ferdinand of Spain in order to define their alliance with England.
6. For contemporary history, in particular the relationship between Spain and England, see Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*.
7. AGS, “Estado,” leg. 806–7; fols. 12–16.
8. The marriage took place on June 11, 1508 (AGS, “Estado,” leg. 52, fol. 7).
9. AGS, “Guerra Antigua,” leg. 12, fol. 156.
10. AGS, “Patronato Real,” leg. 26, fol. 56.
11. See Manuel Fernández Álvarez, *Corpus Documental de Carlos V* (Documentary corpus of Carlos V), vol. 3, 345–47. The letters were written from Augsburg in 1548.
12. For English piracy, see Carlos Sáinz Cidoncha, *Historia de la piratería en América española* (History of piracy in Spanish America). For international tensions between Elizabeth and Philip, see Pi Corrales, *Felipe II y la lucha por el dominio del mar* (Phillip II and the fight for dominion of the sea).

13. AGS, "Estado," leg. 809. The history of the two monarchs' relationship is based on research and publications by historian Glyn Redworth; see his "Una historia poco conocida" (A little known history) in *La Aventura de la Historia* 53 (The adventure of history 53), 60–62. Redworth reports that Philip II proposed to Elizabeth I, demanding that she make a public statement declaring herself a Catholic, that he could leave the kingdom if affairs with other states required him to, and that their offspring would have no rights to the Low Countries. These demands show his confidence in having them met, but he was faced repeatedly with a negative response and the deployment of an ambiguous policy during the following years, despite Elizabeth's knowing full well that she needed Spain's collaboration. She feared that if she acted differently she could no longer act independently, and was reluctant to admit a loss of her political and religious authority. She maintained this stance toward all the marriage proposals she received and when she rejected the pope's supremacy. See also AGS, "Sección Estado," legajo 801.
14. This sentiment is expressed frequently throughout the documents found in the AGS, "Estado," leg. 809.
15. Julio Retamal Favereu explains the flare-up of English-Spanish hostilities and the impossibility of recovering the prior peace between the two countries (11–21).
16. This conspiracy was called "Ridolfi," the name of an Italian banker who had backed the assassination of Elizabeth I and replacement by her cousin, Mary Queen of Scots. The pirate John Hawkins discovered the plot, and Ridolfi's involvement; and the queen ordered the ambassador to be expelled. For more information, see Manuel Fernández Álvarez, *Tres embajadores en la Corte de Inglaterra* (Three ambassadors in the court of England), 140–41.
17. Quoted in Fernández Álvarez, *Tres embajadores*, 180–81.
18. Quoted in García Cárcel, *La leyenda Negra*, 54.
19. See Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *Los viajes de John Hawkins a América (1562–1595)* (The voyages of John Hawkins to America (1562–1595)). See also Sainz Cidoncha (53–57) for Elizabeth's attitude during those years and thereafter. This attitude is also discussed in Carlos Gómez-Centurión, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra y el comercio septentrional (1566–1609)* (Philip II, the enterprise of England and the northern trade (1566–1609)) and in José Ramón Cervera Pery, *La estrategia naval del Imperio* (The naval strategy of the Empire), 173–76.
20. The 1493 papal bull of demarcation authorized the Spanish monopoly in the New World, confirmed a year later under the Treaty of Tordesillas.

21. In 1568, Hawkins, on this return trip to firm land leading a slave trading expedition with Francis Drake, plundered the city of Veracruz but was surprised when anchoring in San Juan de Ulúa by the Spanish fleet. When attacked, he and Drake managed to escape with only two ships, while their men were condemned to rot in tropical prisons. This incident illuminates a critical point in Spanish-English relations. For more about this and other expeditions, see Augusto Thomazi, *Las flotas del oro* (Fleets of gold), 78–83.
22. For more on the relationship between England, Spain, and the Low Countries, see Carlos Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra y el comercio septentrional (1566–1609)* (Philip II: the enterprise of England and the northern trade [1566–1609]), 17–69.
23. AGS, “Guerra Antigua,” leg. 77, fols. 11 and 103.
24. AGS, “Estado,” leg. 143. Several documents in this section feature these or very similar statements.
25. For more on this enterprise, see Pi Corrales, *La “otra” invencible: España y las potencias nórdicas* (The “other” invincible: Spain and the nordic powers). This call for help was later repeated and responded to with the so-called aid to Kinsale in 1603, which turned into a resounding failure for Spain. For events related to Ireland in this period, see Pi Corrales, “Después de Kinsale: La Monarquía Hispánica y el futuro de la Armada Española” (After Kinsale: The hispanic monarchy and the future of the Spanish Armada) and *Irlanda y la Monarquía Hispánica. Kinsale 1601–1621. Guerra, Política, Exilio y Religión* (Ireland and the Spanish monarchy: Kinsale 1601–1621. War, politics, exile, and religion), 205–25.
26. See Ricardo García Cárcel, 81.
27. See Henry Kamen and Joseph Pérez, *La imagen internacional de la España de Felipe II* (The international image of the Spain of Felipe II).
28. Some of the publications can be examined in Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *Armada Española* (Spanish Armada) (2: 85–97). See also Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Historia eclesiástica del cisma de Inglaterra* (Ecclesiastical history of the schism of the kingdom of England), 1196–1197.
29. See Pi Corrales, “The View from Spain: Distant Images and English Political Reality in the Late 16th Century.”
30. In the original: “diles que está seguro el triunfo y gloria, / y que ya España canta la victoria” (vv. 134–35) “Canción nacida de las varias nuevas que han venido de la católica armada que fue sobre Inglaterra.” Nonetheless, Cervantes

wrote his exemplary short story, *La española inglesa* (The Spanish-English lady), just before the disaster of the Invincible Armada and Drake's pirate attacks. The story begins with a historic event: the English raid on Cádiz in 1596. An English knight kidnaps Isabela, a seven-year-old girl and takes her to England with him. He gives her to his Catholic wife to raise her. The girl grows in age as well as beauty, and the nobleman Ricaredo falls in love with her. He asks Queen Elizabeth for permission to marry her, who tests him by giving him command of a pirate ship. In this story, Spaniards are presented with an unfamiliar view of the queen: kind toward a Spanish lady, complacent, and, what was more surprising, tolerant in religious affairs. When the queen learns that Isabela is a Catholic, she states, "*that is why I loved her so much, as she keeps so well the religion taught her by her parents*" (325–26). On Cervantes's *La española inglesa* (The Spanish-English lady) see Alexander Samson's chapter 8 in this volume.

31. Quoted in Fernández Duro, *La Armada Invencible* 2: 85–97. "Invencible y de memoria / don Felipe rey de España / el alto rey soberano / hos dé salud y Victoria." On Juan de Mesa, see also chapter 9 by Jesús-David Jerez-Gómez in this volume.
32. Quoted in Marcus, Mueller, and Rose, *Elizabeth I*, 325.
33. See the historiography by David García Hernán, "El IV centenario de la Armada contra Inglaterra." (The Fourth Centenary of the Armada against England. Other Spanish historians featured in the same journal are Bernardo Jose Garcia Garcia, Ricardo García Cárcel, Carlos Gómez-Centurión, among others and myself.
34. For this theme of traffic from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic war, see the work by I. A. A. Thompson in the volume *England, Spain and the Gran Armada, 1585–1604*. The book also includes a series of fundamental studies on this and related topics.

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CHAPTER 2

The Political Discourse on Elizabeth I in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain

JESÚS M. USUNÁRIZ

Elizabeth I in Spanish Public Opinion

Who was Elizabeth I in Spanish public opinion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? All evidence suggests that for several decades the stereotypes and judgments formed about the Tudor queen were controlled by Philip II's counselors and diplomats and were promulgated in the correspondence of certain Jesuit priests and other clerics.¹ The letters and reports from the ambassadors of the Spanish monarch over almost thirty years reveal the changing aspects of his relationship with the queen; the tensions and uneasy balance between Spain and England, with both monarchies committed to a traditional strategic alliance despite the growing providentialism of their governments; and despite the attacks, threats, and plots hatched by both parties.² Things would never be the same, however, after the years 1587–1588. Philip II's Armada against England provoked a series of publications that, while helping to provide justification and a garnering of popular support for the endeavor, also served to construct in Spanish public opinion the image of the Tudor queen, her counselors, and the majority of Englishmen. The stereotype would endure but also evolve in the decades that followed as a source for chronicles, stories, plays, novels, and poems. All of this was comparable to the "public construction" of the queen's image and the development of anti-Catholicism and anti-Spanish sentiments in England.³

The first Spanish works to establish the pattern for the literature that followed were those by the Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneyra, who had briefly witnessed events on the island. In 1558 he formed part of the Count of Feria's entourage that was sent to England by the king on account of Mary Tudor's illness. The Jesuit priest was responsible for a "trilogy": the *Historia del cisma de Inglaterra* (History of the English schism) (1588–1593); the *Tratado de la tribulación* (Treatise on tribulation) (1589); and *El tratado de la religión y virtudes que debe tener el príncipe cristiano* (Treatise on the religion and the virtues of a Christian prince) (1595).⁴

The most important of these works for our purposes is, without doubt, the *Historia del cisma de Inglaterra*. It was printed in two parts: the first in 1588 included the first and second books, with editions published in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Antwerp, and Zaragoza; the second part, which included the third book, was printed in Alcalá in 1593, and in Lisbon and Antwerp in 1594. The first two books had as their main source Nicholas Sander,⁵ completed by the priest Edward Rishton, *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani* (1585). Indeed, Sander's work was the source for many of the Catholic works that dealt with England. Ribadeneyra translated the work freely "with the aim of writing in our Spanish tongue the part that I have judged should be known by all, shortening some things and adding others, which have been considered by other grave authors of our times."⁶ In the first and second part, Ribadeneyra reviewed the vicissitudes of English Tudor history: the schism following Henry VIII's marriage to Anne Boleyn, and the years of Edward VI, Mary Tudor, and, finally, Elizabeth. He furnishes a detailed description of the torments suffered by Catholics at the hands of supporters of the schism and heretics. At about the same date, Ribadeneyra wrote another text intended to be the history's epilogue, *Exhortación para los soldados y capitanes que van a esta jornada de Inglaterra en nombre de su capitán general* (Exhortation to the soldiers and officers who embark upon this expedition to England, in the name of their captain general) (1588).⁷ He sent it to Ana Félix de Guzmán (ca. 1560–1612), daughter of the Count-Duke of Olivares, so that she in turn should send it to the Duke of Medina Sidonia (1550–1615), who

commanded the Armada. This text, as we shall see, represents a masterly summary of the causes and the objectives of the matter of England.

As for the other two works, the *Tratado de la tribulación* (1589) was a reflection on why God allowed “such great evils as the heresies” (fol. 155v) that had appeared in England, and on why God allowed heretics to gain victory over Catholics. The *Tratado de la religión y virtudes*, which he dedicated to the future Philip III, argued against what Ribadeneyra called Machiavellian “politicians,” especially in France and England: “men friends only unto themselves, cruel, depraved, and soulless, whose only gain is the loss of others, and whose only interest is the destruction of all religion” (5), and “political and ungodly men [who] turn the reason of state away from the law of God” (7).

In these same years the historian Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas narrated one of the tragic events of Elizabeth’s reign: the execution of Mary Stuart in 1587. This would be reflected in his *Historia de lo sucedido en Escocia e Inglaterra en cuarenta años que vivió María Estuardo* (History of events in Scotland and England during the forty-four years Mary Stuart lived) (1589). His reflections on England would have a great influence on subsequent authors, and he sought to establish differences with previous works, including those by Sander and Ribadeneyra. In the “Dedicatory Epistle” he stated that “with the work about to see the light of day, a text appeared in Latin by Sander, a learned English Catholic, which was translated into our language by Pedro de Ribadeneyra of the Society of Jesus,” and “as he did not leave out anything of what I wrote on spiritual matters and he expressed himself with such elegance and order, I resolved to leave aside what I had worked on in this matter.” In this way, Herrera y Tordesillas sought to deal only with “matters of state” and principally with the history of the events in the Scottish kingdom and the trials and tribulations of Queen Mary Stuart in England.

However, apart from political and military events, religious persecution was the topic most frequently dealt with by authors. In 1590, the Jesuit Robert Persons’s *Relación de algunos mártires* (Narratives of some martyrs) was published. This work was dedicated to Archduchess Isabel

Clara Eugenia and narrated the torments suffered by the Catholics in England, especially after the Armada in 1588; it sought support for the recently created English Catholic seminary in Valladolid.

In 1599, the Hieronymite friar Diego de Yepes wrote an exhaustive compilation of these martyrdoms accompanied by reflections on the resistance of the Protestants. In the same year he was named bishop of Tarazona, after having previously been confessor to the king at the monastery of El Escorial. His *Historia particular de la persecución en Inglaterra* (A particular history of the persecution in England), focused on “the martyrdoms that there had been in England these past years, judging that it would be greatly edifying for these kingdoms and all other Catholics” (“A la Real Católica Majestad”).⁸

Sander’s influence, directly or via Ribadeneyra, is present in all of these works. Thus, books published in Spanish, or translated into that language, such as Luis Cabrera de Cordoba’s biography of Philip II, Luis de Bavia’s *Historia pontifical y católica* (Pontifical and Catholic history), and works by Botero, among others, base their points of view regarding Elizabethan England on Sander. His influence is also present in numerous literary testimonies by Lope de Vega, Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–81), and, to a lesser extent, Miguel de Cervantes, Luis de Góngora (1561–1627), Tirso de Molina (1579–1648), and other authors.⁹

A Bastard Queen

In order to evaluate Elizabeth’s reign through Spanish writings, it is necessary to start at the beginning and follow the development of the Anglican schism during the reign of Henry VIII.¹⁰ Ribadeneyra wrote in 1588 that King Henry went from being a just and courageous man to “a wild and cruel beast who destroyed his whole kingdom.”¹¹ Thus, when he married Catherine, he was “a dashing young man, fond of pastimes and frivolity and of the very servants of the queen and had two or sometimes three as friends” (13). With such a background, it was not unusual for the king to be consumed with passion for one of the ladies of the court, Anne Boleyn, allegedly the daughter of Thomas Boleyn and his wife, Elisabeth Howard.

According to Ribadeneyra, Anne was not Thomas's daughter but fruit of the love affair between the king and Thomas's wife. As if this were not enough, he was also enamored of another of Thomas' daughters, Mary Boleyn: "the king laid his eyes" and "had dishonest dealings with her" in "such a way that, not content the king with having had the mother as a mistress and also her daughter, burning with torpid desire, he sought also to enjoy the other daughter, who was Anne Boleyn" (24).

Without going into the details of Anne's physical appearance (he states only that "she had six fingers on her right hand and a large swelling as her double chin," Ribadeneyra does not hide the rumors about her licentious past (24). Having been sent to the French court, where she lived "with frivolity," Anne gained the name of "English mare" and then of "royal mule" because of her friendship with the king of France (25). On Ann's return to the Tudor court, Henry's blindness reached such an extreme that even despite learning from Anne's putative father himself that she was Henry's own daughter, he would have none of it. Thus, after a long and laborious process, he repudiated Catherine of Aragon and married Anne "transported in a sudden fit of infernal carnal fury" (67). Ribadeneyra took advantage of his actions to criticize most Englishmen: "in our days we see a vast crowd of heretics who adore the couple, or, as is better said, the *appalling incest of the father with his own daughter*" (68; emphasis mine). Soon, Henry VIII, keen to break his ties with Anne, accused her of incest with her brother George Boleyn and of adultery with other men; he finally ordered her death on the scaffold. In this way, the church in England was not based on Christ "but on the dishonesty of a *slaughtered whore*" (69; emphasis mine). Ribadeneyra gave even more details in his "Exhortación":

I wish only to state that the present miserable state that [England] now endures under this Elizabeth, who is the daughter of Anne Boleyn, with whom Henry contracted matrimony, tiring of the holy Queen Catherine, daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, of glorious memory, his legitimate wife, with whom he had lived peacefully for twenty years and had two daughters by her. Anne was sister of the king's friend, daughter of another

of his friends, and even, as some of trustworthy greats say, daughter of the king himself, who married his own daughter so that there might be born (Oh how unjust, abominable and unheard of!) such a horrible and dreadful monster, one who was daughter and sister of her mother, granddaughter of her father, and who imitated the father and grandfather in disobedience to the Pope and cruelty, and the mother and sister in heresy and dishonesty. And thus, by order of the very king Henry, her father and husband, she was publicly beheaded. (349–50)

These judgments regarding Anne Boleyn would be repeated in successive works. In Lope de Vega's narrative epic poem, *Corona trágica* (Tragic crown), whereas he praises the figure of Mary Stuart, Anne Boleyn is described as a "Rash woman, new Agrippina / Insult of Roman courage" (vv. 625–626). He adds the epithets "cruel beast" (v. 633) and "inhuman" (vv. 638–639) to Anne, who attracts a Henry "blinded by his senses, lust and ambition" (vv. 416–417).¹²

In his description of Henry VIII, Ribadeneyra depicts him as cruel, mean, and especially lecherous, a drunkard "lost to the pleasures of wine":¹³ "His lechery was such that to satisfy his appetite and dishonesty he committed so many and such great mistakes and outrages, and the older he grew the more he did and the less control he had over himself. He could hardly see a beautiful woman without coveting her and there were few that he coveted whom he did not violate" (152). As a result, his death was "celebrated across the whole kingdom" as "they loathed him for the tyrant he was." From a young, handsome man he became "due to his insatiable lechery and clumsiness a being so ugly, deformed and heavy that he could not climb any stairs" (152–54).

The shadow of Elizabeth's illegitimacy was consequently cast upon her accession to the throne. Since she was a bastard, the daughter of incest, and heir to a particular form of believing and being, this would soon manifest itself in her political dealings. During Mary Tudor's reign, Elizabeth became involved in a plot against her stepsister, although according to Cabrera de Córdoba, the treachery was inspired by France. The aim of the French was to have Elizabeth found out and executed; thus, the final

obstacle that separated Mary Stuart, wife of the dauphin, from the English throne, would be eliminated. However, although Elizabeth was exposed and sentenced to death by the Council, she had nonetheless an unexpected ally: Philip II. Cabrera de Córdoba launched into a bitter diatribe precisely on this issue, using as a base the criticisms that Ribadeneyra hinted at in his *Tratado de la tribulación* to explain the defeat of the Armada in 1588.¹⁴ Philip prevented the execution from happening, much to the indignation of the French, in what was, according to Cabrera de Córdoba, a mistake caused more by political miscalculation than by protecting the interests of the church:

The French, outwitted, claimed that Philip maintained her for political reasons against them so that in Mary Stuart fewer kingdoms should be brought together, for the peril of the states of Flanders. And so it was. And God maintained her so that she might alter and divide them, worry them, spoil, reach careful old age, for having given greater importance to the comfort of their dominions, maintaining she who was the enemy of the Catholic Church, from whose birth, evil upbringing and life such perverse effects would spring. Counsel is punished when it is preferred to heavenly matters. Also many decried this laxity in human prudence, saying "The dead do not bite."¹⁵

Lope de Vega expressed a similar opinion in *Corona trágica* (1627) when he considers that Philip II, driven by his piety, wasted the opportunity to punish the conspiracies of princess Elizabeth during the reign of Mary I:

Philip reigned and England had
With the Spanish king the Roman faith.
Then Elisabeth waged hidden war against them
But the tyrannical treason was discovered.
Oh how much piety often errs
As it is not divine in all human action
If in relieving her of punishment
He left the Church with such an enemy. (13r)

Following the death of Mary Tudor in 1559 and despite the aspirations of the French king—who even proclaimed his daughter-in-law and his son the dauphin king and queen of England, on the basis of Pope Clement VII's declaration that the marriage between Henry VIII and Anne was illegitimate¹⁶—Elizabeth would occupy the throne:

Then Elisabeth, of Anne Boleyn
And Henry the adulterous fruit, born
To wear a crown not her own
Sees fit to persecute the Church.
Never were the forests of Caledonia
So full of wild beasts nor adorned
With monsters than in her empire foul and fierce
That Calvin sowed and Luther tended. (14r)

Indeed, from “such parents,” the driving force behind the schism and heresy, “the origin of all evils,” a daughter, Elizabeth, illegitimate and a bastard would be born, who, like her ancestors would be inclined to maintain the break with Rome, as only with the aid of heresy could she occupy a throne that was not hers.¹⁷ The illegitimacy of her origins would, therefore, be the main explanation for her subsequent actions, as Diego de Yepes writes: “Understanding this, the reader will see the origin of the torments and martyrdoms that, under the guise of treason, they execute on Catholics who recognize the Pope as head. He will see what they aim to accomplish in their edicts published against the Jesuits and other priests who attempt to return that kingdom to its former obedience and how, by supporting this right of Elizabeth, everything is perturbed and overturned with no one left untouched.”¹⁸

A Heretical and Cruel Queen

The description of Elizabeth as bastard and illegitimate was followed in these works by her depiction as a heretic, which would promptly see the light of day in spite of a few initial moments of diplomatic caution. The Spanish authors of these treatises would then characterize her with

the astuteness typical of those heretical followers of an unhealthy *raison d'état*. In a letter to Father Laínez from London, dated January 20, 1559, Ribadeneyra related the death of Queen Mary on November 17, 1558 and that of Cardinal Pole a few hours later: "Since then, the choice and coronation of this other queen, Elizabeth, has occurred, who from childhood *was not nursed with such pure milk as was her sister*, and thus so far has given no indication of such a good state of mind nor such heart-felt intentions in matters of religion."¹⁹ Ribadeneyra himself highlights Elizabeth's astuteness during Mary's reign: "[she] showed herself outwardly to be catholic although inside it is said that she was not." For her coronation, she observed the normal Roman rites but suddenly followed a radically different course as her heretical counselors "told her that in order to be queen, anything could be feigned or hidden, sworn to or perjured."²⁰

For Ribadeneyra, this was made clear at her coronation when, as did her predecessors to the throne, she swore to defend the church: "even Elisabeth, who now reigns in England, made this oath the day of her coronation in order to be admitted as queen and more easily deceive Catholics and destroy our holy religion."²¹ This, to a great extent, was because, as has been mentioned, Clement VII had declared the marriage between Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn illegitimate, and the French had put pressure on Paul IV to declare Elizabeth "unfit," "because of her infamous birth." As Cabrera de Córdoba explains, to protect herself from these threats, and "because the Catholics were many, she was crowned in a mass with all the Roman ceremonies," but suddenly, and precisely because of the reprobation that threatened her power "she changed religion so as not to change state," as was also advised by the Calvinist Robert Cecil. In Cabrera de Córdoba's opinion, it was Cecil, in cahoots with Francis Walsingham, Nicolas Bacon, or the Duke of Norfolk, who maneuvered so that Parliament would approve "that by law Elisabeth would be the supreme head and governess of the Anglican Church."²² This made England different from France, Scotland, or Flanders because while in these countries religious strife was taking place by fire and sword, in England the heresy was implanted, in Ribadeneyra's words, "in the form of laws and royal orders,

and decrees and laws of Parliament”—a “subtle and cunning armed invention” “to make her evil deeds and pernicious sects develop even deeper roots.”²³ Cabrera de Córdoba concludes that in the “eighth year of her reign,” the public persecution of Catholics began “*with many Catholics dead, perverted, exiled and imprisoned by false testimonies, diminished their power and living in fear while the heretics ever more proud, free and powerful made new laws of persecution.*”²⁴

“Neronian Proclamations”: The Catholic Martyrs

For these chroniclers, Elizabeth I, after the initial years, developed a policy of outright cruelty toward Catholics, which was defended through political arguments as they were executed not for being Catholics—a further example of the arsenal of falsehoods used by heretics—but for plotting against the queen and committing the crime of treason, a fact that Spanish amanuenses always denied or simply justified based on the 1570 papal bull of excommunication. In Ribadeneyra’s view, Elizabeth began to persecute the Catholics, giving refuge to “all the very pestilent ministers of Satan and diabolic masters of all errors”;²⁵ she converted her kingdom into a “cave of serpents” (350) that welcomed heretics from all parts, thieves, and pirates; she had removed the images of saints, not recognizing the authority of the pope: “She who feels such hatred toward anything related to devotion or piety that came from that Holy See, that only by carrying with oneself or taking account of pardons, an *agnus Dei*, a cross or a holy card, a bull from Rome, she tears limb from limb and murders with horrible and cruel torture, as if they were traitors, all those who she finds, in her opinion, to have committed such a grave crime” (355; emphasis mine).

The description is similar to that given by Herrera y Tordesillas:

These things and the variety that there has been in England in matters of religion from some years to this point, the terrible, rigorous, and cruel persecutions against Catholics and the many webs that in different states of the world Elizabeth has woven against princes, moved me to put in

writing these things happening in our times, to show the world *how much the devil can do when disguised in human flesh, even though it may be that of a woman*.²⁶

For Ribadeneyra, the proclamations of the queen against the heretics are “Neronian proclamations” in the words of Botero,²⁷ the consequences of which are reflected in the works of Herrera y Tordesillas, and the Jesuit Robert Persons as well; and in Diego de Yepes’s *Historia particular*, in which special attention was given to the trials against the Catholics and the detailed and almost morbid description of their martyrdom.

The testimony of an eyewitness, Robert Persons, in England between 1580 and 1581, and the promoter of English seminaries in Spain, had an important influence. In his *Relación*, published in 1590, the “Preface” states,

It must be supposed that since Elizabeth Tudor, daughter of Anne Boleyn, began to reign in England in 1588 although at the beginning of her government she tried with good words and hope to entertain Catholics and deceive them with a false and cunning softness, still then many sane people that knew that heretics, under their sheep’s skin, are ferocious wolves, clearly seeing what was to come, attempted to leave the kingdom of England and make themselves safe from the horrible storm that was threatening them. (2v)

In the *Relación*, Persons recorded the martyrdom of twenty-nine priests trained in the English seminaries on the continent. The persecution, which was particularly intense after the 1588 Armada, is reported in the “Letter of a priest written in London, England on the twenty-second of December 1588 of the martyrdom that the heretics imposed on some Catholics after the Spanish Armada had passed through these parts.” The same book includes the “Information provided by Father Roberto Personio, of England, of the Society of Jesus, regarding the institution of the Seminary that by order of his Majesty has been created in Valladolid for the English student priests fleeing the persecution of the heretics of England and the French wars” (1589). There he discusses the success

of the preaching, the conversions, and their consequences: Once the preceding had been seen by the queen, she then began to more cruelly persecute Catholics and mainly these priests, declaring them traitors to their country for being in league with the pope and the king of Spain. In Persons's view, she also issued the most inhumane and abominable laws against them and other Catholics, the like of which was never done by any emperor or gentle persecutor (66v).²⁸

"A Bloody Jezabel, A New Athaliah"

Evidently, one of the episodes of martyrdom that became most infamous and had most historical impact was the imprisonment and execution of Mary Queen of Scots. For Herrera y Tordesillas, Elizabeth's distrust and hatred of Mary Stuart had their origin in, once again, her illegitimacy:

And although her mind was not a little worried, to see that the Pope and the Catholic princes harbored suspicions about her faith, due to the signs that every day she gave of being a heretic, she was greatly afraid of Mary Stuart Queen of Scotland, her niece, married to Francis II, king of France, and that she was the sole and legitimate heir to the throne of England. Aided by her council that was made up of atheists and Machiavellians, has tried by all means possible to sustain herself in the supreme dignity of that kingdom, although the same counselors have confessed that the true heir was Mary.²⁹

According to Herrera y Tordesillas, the fear of competition from Mary Stuart made Elizabeth appear to be implicated right from the very beginning in the movements to destabilize the kingdom of Scotland. Thus, Elizabeth would be behind the death of the counselor David Rizzio (1533–66), supporting the plotters and showing the utmost cruelty, to the point of trying to make Mary, who was pregnant at the time, miscarry by forcing her to be present at his execution:

The main purpose of Elizabeth, queen of England, the head of all these deeds and who had recommended the death of this secretary for being

faithful to his lady, was to attempt his execution on that occasion and in front of the queen herself, because with the fright and upset she might miscarry and both mother and child would die. And should this not come to pass, that the queen should feel such enmity towards her husband that no reconciliation between them should be possible. (72v; chap. XVIII)

Following Mary's abdication in 1567, and despite the advice of those loyal to her, Mary, believing in Elizabeth's promises, took refuge in England. Once there, according to Herrera y Tordesillas, "The Queen of England raved to find some manner or point of justice to be able to get rid of the woman from Scotland" (117v-118r).³⁰ Elizabeth imprisoned Mary in 1568 and began legal proceedings against her. The Act of Parliament of September 27, 1582 condemned any plot to overthrow the queen. After describing with great feeling the sentencing and execution of Mary (1587), Herrera y Tordesillas concludes:

It will please Our Lord that the day of punishment will come for *this monster Elizabeth*, who has not only turned Great Britain upside down but also by extending her diabolic fury beyond its borders, has unsettled her neighbours, with whom she would have done the same as she did with Mary if she could, and for which reason *we must compare her with Busiris who welcomed in his home and entertained men only to murder them afterwards; and with Diomedes who showed his horses how to consume human flesh so that they would tear his guests to pieces*. And finally he was punished by Hercules who avenged the violation of the holy hospice. *And so it must be hoped that Elizabeth, who for Mary has been another Diomedes, would suffer divine justice from Hercules, that is, the most unconquered Philip II, whom may Our Lord keep for many years, for greater glory of his holy name.* (173v; emphasis mine)

The death of Mary Stuart is at the very center of Lope de Vega's *Corona trágica*, which the author based on the *Vita María Stuartate* by the Franciscan George Conn (1624), who was present at the Madrid court in the service of Cardinal Francisco Barberini, the pope's legate. Lope considered

his work a response to the libels against Mary inspired or written by “heretical [...] satirical and decietful individuals,” and especially against George Buchanan:

In the year [fifteen] eighty-seven (a wretched number for the greater part) Elizabeth of England, daughter of Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII, ordered this innocent woman to be beheaded, this woman who was a unique example of constancy in faith, obedience to the sovereign head of the Church, patience in adversity and modesty in the face of insults. And insults from a woman, who succeeded her on the throne, and through unjust fear of her, took away her life. On the very day of her death she paraded with splendid jewellery, in all her finery and pomp through the court of London. Odious triumph which deserved to be called “Theatre of cruelty” by Catholic writers.³¹

Indeed, as Lope de Vega writes in the poem, Elizabeth, the “bloody Jezabel,” fruit of “incestuous harpy birth,” faced with the fear of losing her kingdom to Mary, made a show of her cruelty by executing her:

Bloody Jezabel, new Athaliah
True offspring of her lineage reigned in Britain
The callous sphinx Elisabeth, whose obstinacy
In blood the Caledonian sea bathes.
Incestuous birth of the harpy
That the Catholic Hercules of Spain
With it in his hand to kill her, pardoned her
To stain the holy table.
This cruel lamia, gallant woman
And in cruelty a lion, seeing Mary
(honour of royal Stuart blood)
Who in the English realm was successor
Not daring to impose a bastard succession
Nor to marry for fear that by
Naming a king, she might lose her empire

Leaving an open road to adultery.
In cruelty and fear resembling
The godless Herod whose earthly kingdom
Was judged by Holy Christ covering
Elijah with blood and Rachel with tears. (3v-4r)

Elizabeth is pictured as a “new Tomiris,” the moira Atropos, thirsty for the blood of Catholics (55v).

The “Evil Spider”: Subverter of Neighboring Kingdoms

Elizabeth was also accused of using all possible strategies to keep her enemies at bay, promoting division and encouraging civil war in enemy territories. Botero, in Book VI of his *Razón de estado* (The reason of state), in a short chapter titled “On sustaining bands and the intelligence of enemies,” cites her as an example when defending the usefulness of “aiding the bands that exist in the territory of enemies and neighbours” as she had intervened against Philip II in Flanders, France, and Scotland “by fanning all ill tempers and heresies that have arisen in those lands and with the aid of counsel and money, has kept fire away from her house. [...] And this woman has shown us that there is no counsel against the lord” (85v-86r).

Ribadeneyra also complained about Elizabeth’s interventionism in his *Exhortación*: “She has tried with all her artifice and cunning to light this destructive and burning fire of heresy throughout the world, starting with the kingdoms and states most close to her” (395), such as occupying Scotland, killing Queen Mary, upsetting France, and favoring the rebels. In Flanders, she was blamed for sustaining the war against Philip II, even with pirate incursions like those of the “dragon” Drake on the coasts of Galicia and Cádiz and in the Indies. In Lope de Vega’s epitaph for Elizabeth I, “De Isabela Reyna Da Ingalatierra” (On Elizabeth Queen of England), he converts her into “the harpy of the western gold.”³² According to Ribadeneyra, she had sought to establish alliances with other heretical and unfaithful princes such as Moscovy or Constantinople itself: “She is the

root, the well-spring, the one who continually fans the fire and feeds the storm and promotes this corrupt and pestilent air and spills it and spreads it through other provinces and kingdoms. And thus, cut out this evil root, the branches sustained by it will wither" (352–57). Elizabeth was, in effect, "the evil spider of England, who plots, conspires and weaves the fabric of treasons and tangles of Flanders and of others of his majesty's states" (361).³³

"Libidinous She-Wolf"

In Álvarez Recio's view, English public opinion required two characteristics, above all, from Elizabeth's public image: the people wanted to see, on the one hand, the virgin queen, and on the other, the sovereign protector of the nation.³⁴ In the works published in Spain, however, Elizabeth's alleged chasteness instead became a trick that degenerated into deceit and political pretense with the sole aim of keeping her on the throne. Alonso Fernández, in his *Historia eclesiástica* (Ecclesiastical history) (1611), saw in the supposed marriage negotiations between Elizabeth and Archduke Ferdinand, Emperor Ferdinand I's son (in fact, the candidate was another of his sons, Archduke Charles II), a strategy so that the Council of Trent would not make public, thanks to the intervention of the emperor, an excommunication and withdrawal of the kingdom against her: "then the deceit was evident, being her usual style, to trick with such promises those she was afraid of and those from whom she hoped to receive some notable advantage for her kingdom."³⁵

Much less frequent are references to the queen's alleged sexual affairs. Gil González Dávila (1578–1658) fixed 1602 as the year of Elizabeth's death, pronouncing: "She reigned four and forty years, *she did not marry, living with the licentiousness that is conceded by heresy to those who follow the dark ways of their errors*, seeking with the power of her example to cast down her subjects so that they would lose sight of the monuments of the Holy Church" (83–4; emphasis mine).

However, probably the most severe was Luis de Góngora, who in his poem dated 1588, "De la armada que fue a Inglaterra," (The army that went to England) cries out to England:

Oh once Catholic and powerful isle
 Temple of faith, now temple of heresy
 Field of Mars, school of Minerva
 Of which it is said the temples that some day
 Were girded with a royal crown of shining gold
 Are now decorated with a vile garland of sterile grass,
 Fortunate mother and obedient servant
 Of Arthurs, of Edwards and of Henrys
 Rich in fortitude and rich in faith
 Now condemned to eternal infamy
 By she who governs you
 With her hand gripping
 The spindle instead of the sceptre or sword;
 Wife of many and daughter-in-law to many,
 Oh clumsy queen, no, more, she-wolf
 Libidinous and fierce
fiamma dal ciel sul le tue treccie piova!

The negative image of a queen who remains single and uses the state to maintain herself and reinforce her power also appears, with some qualification, in other works. The writer who most clearly broke with this traditional vision was Cervantes in “La española inglesa” (The Spanish-English lady) (1613). Antonio Coello’s play, *El conde de Sex* (The Earl of Essex) (staged in 1633 and published in 1638) is probably the second best sample. Ana Zuñiga Lacruz resumes the plot of a queen attracted by the Count of Essex, her savior, from an attack at the very moment she is caught between her duty as a queen and her desires and passion as a woman, an exasperating struggle in which duty finally wins out.³⁶

In the eighteenth century, however, José de Cañizares in *Lo que va de cetro a cetro y crueldad de Inglaterra* (What passes from scepter to scepter, and England’s cruelty) (ca. 1793) restructures Elizabeth’s image from the sixteenth century, in contrast to Mary Stuart’s. Here, Elizabeth rejects marriage, although not the love of her cousin, the ambassador Edward,

who is in love with Mary Stuart. In spite of her rejection of marriage, a slight possibility still exists: “That several Princes desire / my freedom; I say unto you, / although I have not relinquished my state, I will do so.”³⁷ This is an indication of her cunning to deploy a marriage union with a prince to further her political objectives. The same occurs in the play by Juan Bautista Diamante, *La reina María Estuarda* (Queen Mary Stuart) (staged in 1660 and published in 1674), in which Elizabeth struggles between amorous passion and her responsibility as queen. In both cases, the office of the queen is victorious and reinforces her power, even if this means that she becomes a tyrant.

Tyrant

All the preceding epithets finally lead to one alone—that of tyrant—which has important political consequences. In the opinion of Spanish authors, Elizabeth becomes a tyrant by her bastard birth, by supporting heresy, by becoming the head of the Church of England, by persecuting Catholics, and by giving her support to Protestants everywhere in Europe. She becomes a tyrant in all of its variants: as a tyrant “ab usurpatione”—since she was illegitimate at the moment she acceded to the throne—and as a tyrant “ab origine,” after she was crowned as a Catholic and violated each and every one of the principles of a Christian monarch. In any case, she could be dethroned.³⁸

This was clearly expressed in the bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, issued February 25, 1570 by Pope Pius V and translated into Spanish in Ribadeneyra’s *Historia eclesiástica*. Elizabeth, “slave to her sins” and “alleged queen of England,” had welcomed in her kingdom the enemies of the church, and “with great monstrosity” had become the supreme leader of England, destroying the Catholic faith, exiling and imprisoning its bishops and priests, and distributing Protestant writings. As a result, Ribadeneyra sees a bull that declared her a “heretic and maker of heretics,” excommunicated and “deprived of the alleged right to said kingdom,” and her subjects remaining free from any oath of vassalage, loyalty, or obedience.³⁹

The judgments against her in this regard were frequent in the writings of Spanish authors. As Ribadeneyra states, Elizabeth, transformed into the head of the church, “began to exercise her tyrannical power over spiritual matters” (238). Cabrera, in his narration of the events of 1588, came to justify the invasion of England because the papal bulls of excommunication were renewed by Sixtus V, which made clear

how important it was to remove the scepter from the meddlesome and tyrannical queen for the general peace of Christendom, whose impiety was not only intolerable but an insult to the Catholic princes who had to witness the oppression of their faithful Catholic subjects, seizure of their estates and their ecclesiastical goods, the destruction of bishops, the profanation of churches and the torment of those most religious. He declared that the armadas of the Catholic king were not to subjugate those nations by arms, but only to set the island free and bring to an end the tyranny against religion.⁴⁰

In the Spanish authors’ view, Elizabeth’s despotic condition was also revealed in her determination to eliminate Mary Stuart. In Diamante’s play *La reina María Estuarda*, the character Clotaldo reports to Eduardo that the queen’s decision to execute Mary Stuart was “tyrannical by nature.”⁴¹

The same arguments were vehemently used by Ribadeneyra himself in his *Exhortación* to justify the invasion of 1588. In Ribadeneyra’s view, it was time to pillage England and to strip the heretics of their wealth, which belonged to the churches that “were now tyrannized by Elizabeth and her ungodly ministers.”⁴² For Ribadeneyra, this was a just war:

Because in no past wars did such circumstances exist and in none was battle waged so much for God and against evil as in this combat. Because in this war we will undo a tyranny founded on incest and lust, promoted with the innocent blood of countless martyrs, maintained with insults and the excessive patience of other princes. We will destroy a nest of vipers, a den of thieves, a lake and pool of babbling and pestilent vapors, a chair and school of pestilence, to cut off the head of a woman who makes herself

head of the Church and who ordered a queen of France and Scotland to be beheaded because she was Catholic, a queen who was niece and successor and who entered her kingdom under her infernal word. Let nobody be terrified when they hear the name of England. We are moving against a scrawny woman and her very fearful nature, maintained with her sceptre and her own sins and raised to the royal throne so that her fall may be even more miserable; against a woman who is not the legitimate queen, and this she is not, but born from a wretched marriage and condemned by the Holy See, deprived of her kingdom by Pope Pius V of holy memory; against a heretical, bloody woman, daughter of Henry VIII, daughter of Anne Boleyn, imitator of such parents [surrounded by] a herd of godless counselors and ministers. [. . .] We move against a woman tormented by her own conscience, an enemy to all Christian monarchs and by them loathed, estranged from her subjects, and especially the Catholics *oppressed by her tyranny*. (365–66; emphasis mine)⁴³

Propaganda to Justify a War

Harpy, Athaliah, fierce Atropos, bastard, new Busiris, Calvinist, demon, Diomedes, pitiless sphinx, enemy of the church, heretic, godless, intruder, bloody Jezebel, libidinous she-wolf, evil spider, cruel Medea, monster, new Tomiris, alleged queen, clumsy queen, British Semiramis, tyrant—these are some of the epithets that Elizabeth I received from Spanish writers during her life and after her death. All of them responded to a strategy of propaganda initiated exactly at the moment when the definitive rupture, in 1587–1588, occurred and Philip’s plan to invade the island was being prepared. Both Ribadeneyra’s arguments, which were the most influential among contemporary texts, and those of the authors who continued to write about the schism and the persecution of Catholics, formed the supporting elements of a campaign backing the war that continued after the death of the two monarchs.

Ribadeneyra asserts in his *Exhortación* that the conflict was “a just and holy war, and defensive, as it defends our holy religion and most sacred

Roman Catholic faith" (348).⁴⁴ The campaign of 1588 and the conflicts that followed were presented as a fight against Protestants and against the Calvinist heresy incarnated in the figure of the queen and her ministers. These religious arguments justified overturning and putting an end to a tyrant queen who cruelly martyred Catholics and against whom all should rise up, especially a king considered the champion of Catholicism. As a defensive war, therefore, the objective was to safeguard "the most important reputation of our king and lord of our nation, [and] to defend the estates and goods of all the kingdoms of Spain and with them our peace, tranquility and quietude" (348).⁴⁵ As Ribadeneyra explains, "the world is governed by opinion, and even in more matters of war; with it empires are sustained, and while it exists, they also exist; and when it falls, they fall also; and through reputation many times more cases are resolved than with weapons or armies: Monarchs should take great care to conserve this opinion, and not consent to any party insulting them" (358).

Finally, according to Ribadeneyra, the material benefits and real world interests, although subordinated to the first religious principle, must not be overlooked. Dethroning Elizabeth meant defending Spanish interests in Flanders and the interest of the monarchy in the Indies: "The greatness and reputation of our King and the peace of the whole kingdom in large part depend on the trade and commerce and management and safe navigation in the Indies, which the Queen of England aims to take from us." In Ribadeneyra's opinion, Catholic Europe thought that it was Spain's responsibility to "drive out the devil from England" (364).

All the judgments and evaluations of the queen were a magnificent weapon of propaganda. According to Jean-Marie Domenach's classic study of Communist and Nazi propaganda, *La propagande politique* (1950) (Political propaganda), this type of discourse responded to the five basic rules of propagandistic activity: 1) the image of the enemy was simplified, with symbols or simple slogans, and the adversary (in this case Elizabeth) was reduced to an individual or to a category (heretic); 2) the enemy was exaggerated and disfigured, becoming absolute evil and the target for the most infamous adjectives (bastard, daughter of incest, Busiris . . .),

which converted her into a despicable being; 3) a complete campaign was orchestrated, repeating time and time again the essential themes among all those chroniclers and playwrights responsible for the propaganda and delivering, through a language adapted to the public, a particular image of the enemy; 4) The propaganda started from pre-existing sentiments, in this case against Protestantism and the schism, which formed a base from which all the stereotypes could be transmitted; and 5) the final aim was to reach unanimity in such a way as to create an identification with all elements of the monarchy in contrast to the heretic enemy (45-83).

These were not only arguments to justify a war; they also sought to become the guidelines for Spanish monarchical foreign policy primarily based on the defense of religion. In María José Rodríguez-Salgado's opinion, it was a crusade in which the monarchy's own interests took second place.⁴⁶ A problem arises with the belief that the attitudes held toward the conflict initiated in 1588 would continue after this date, and that Spanish chroniclers and writers would exert such an influence on the monarchs and their ministers that there could be no room for change, as they had to keep within established principles. This constraint has led to the perception that the conflict amounted to "the struggle between two ideologically antagonistic bands," in Rodríguez-Salgado's words (101). This perception, however, clearly requires amendment in my opinion. Undoubtedly, Elizabeth's image originated from a public opinion that sought to offer ideological arguments for war and certain direction to international relations.⁴⁷ For Ribadeneyra, Philip II's mission was to maintain his kingdoms "free of heresies," to "drive out the devil from England" in order to defeat all Protestantism in Europe,⁴⁸ and to maintain those allies who agreed with his defense of the true religion as Yepes recommended.⁴⁹ The intellectuals, historians, and theologians who defended the king's mission fulfilled a short-lived objective, and, as with the political historian Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos (1555-1640), they would continue maintaining these theses long after his death—proof of the campaign's success.⁵⁰

With time, however, the initiative gave way to other attitudes that contradicted previous ones, or, to put it another way, were better adapted to a

reality and political circumstances that were no longer those of 1588. From 1604 onward, with the signing of the Treaty of London, a debate began among those who favored a hostile policy toward England because of its heresy, such as the Patriarch of Valencia, Juan de Ribera (1532–1611), and those at court who wished for change. During most of the first third of the seventeenth century, for those authors and their supporters who had construed a negative image of England, the island continued to be the site of “the miserable kingdom of England,” of “the wretched England” where Catholics were martyred. But this attitude, much to their regret, did not prevent the signing of the Treaty, nor the start of negotiations in 1611 for a possible marriage between the Spanish Infanta and the Prince of Wales. And despite the war of 1625, these debates, which continued from 1623 onward, did not prevent the signing of a peace treaty in 1630 or conversations for subsequent agreements, even during Oliver Cromwell’s (1599–1658) rule.⁵¹

In conclusion, the construction of Elizabeth I’s image, from the time of her birth to her death, was the result of a propaganda effort seeking to justify certain political and military events, particularly those of 1588, which were protected by religious presuppositions and lasted long beyond the death of its protagonists. These efforts gradually diminished when the ever-changing international political reality made it necessary to seek new arguments to support new alliances and to justify a policy entirely different from the one that had characterized previous years. It is hard to imagine how it might have been otherwise.

NOTES

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1. Only some brief pamphlets, especially following Pío V’s bull of excommunication against the queen in 1570, were published from this date on, although they do not criticize the queen, but rather the English “Lutherans.” For instance, Álvaro Flores, “Obra nuevamente compuesta sobre una admirable victoria

que hubo don Francisco Luxán, contra don Juan Acle, luterano, capitán de la reina de Inglaterra” (A work newly composed about the admirable victory won by don Francisco Luxan against don Juan Hawkins, Lutheran, captain for the queen of England) (Burgos, Pedro de Santillán, 1570), published in Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *La Armada Invencible*, vol. 2, 490–501; and “Relación muy verdadera de un castigo que Dios nuestros señor envió sobre ciertos luteranos en la ciudad de Oxonia en el reino de Inglaterra, en este presente año de mil y quinientos y setenta y siete” (The true story of the punishment our Lord sent to certain lutherans in the city of Oxford, England in this year of 1577) (Anonymous, 1577).

2. For more studies on the relationship between Spain and England during the reigns of Elizabeth I and Philip II, see especially Manuel Fernández Álvarez, *Tres embajadores de Felipe II en Inglaterra*; Carlos Gómez-Centurión, *La Invencible y la empresa de Inglaterra*; and Henry Kamen, *Felipe de España*, and Geoffrey Parker, *Felipe II: la biografía definitiva*.
3. For more on this topic, see Leticia Álvarez Recio, and *Rameras de Babilonia, Historia cultural del anticatolicismo en la Inglaterra Tudor*, and the classic study by William S. Maltby, *La leyenda negra en Inglaterra: desarrollo del sentimiento antihispánico* (1558–1660).
4. On Ribadeneyra’s books, see Prades, 137–38.
5. On Sanders, see Christopher Highley, “‘A Pestilent and Seditious Book’: Nicholas Sander’s *Schismatis Anglicani* and Catholic Histories of the Reformation,” which highlights his role in the “reorientation of the discourse of the Catholic community in exile” against Elizabeth I (171).
6. Ribadeneyra, “Al cristiano lector.” See Juan Manuel Escudero, “Introducción,” in Pedro Calderón de la Barca’s *La cisma de Inglaterra* (The schism of England), or López Estrada’s comparison between Calderón, Tomás Moro, and Herrera y Tordesillas in “La Inglaterra del cisma considerada por Herrera y Calderón” (England’s schism considered by Herrera and Calderón).
7. Highlighted also by José María Iñurritegui in *La gracia y la república: El lenguaje político de la teología católica* “El príncipe cristiano” de Pedro de Ribadeneyra (Grace and republic: The political language of Catholic theology and “The Christian Prince” by Pedro de Ribadeneyra), 222–23.
8. Other isolated accounts were published of the persecution and torments suffered by Catholics on the island, such as the anonymous “Traslado de una carta de cierta monja inglesa llamada Isabel Sandera, escrita en Ruán, ciudad de

Francia, a Francisco Englefield, caballero inglés, residente en Madrid, en que le da cuenta de las persecuciones y trabajos que ha pasado por nuestra santa fe en Inglaterra” (Conveyence of a letter from a certain english nun named Isabel Sandera, written in rouen, a city in France, to Francisco Englefield, an english gentleman living in Madrid, in which she tells of the persecutions and tribulations that have vexed our holy faith in England)]; Iusepe Cresuelo’s *Historia de la vida y martirio que padeció en Inglaterra el año mdlxxxv el padre Henrique Valpolo* (History of the life and martyrdom of father Henrique Valpolo in England in mdlxxxv); and Joseph Creswell’s *Historia de la vida y martirio que padeció en Inglaterra este año de 1595 el P. Henrique Valpolo, sacerdote de la Compañía de Jesús, que fue enviado del Colegio de los Ingleses de Valladolid y ha sido el primer mártir de los Seminarios de España, con el martirio de otros cuatro sacerdotes, los dos de la misma Compañía y los otros dos de los Seminarios* (History of the life and martyrdom of father Henrique Valpolo in England in the year 1595, priest of the society of Jesus, who was sent from the english seminary of Valladolid and was the first martyr of the spanish seminaries, with the martyrdom of four other priests, two of the same society and two from the seminaries).

9. See Miguel Herrero García, *Las ideas de los españoles del siglo, xvii*.
10. See in this regard, Gabriela Torres Olleta, “Imágenes del poder en el Siglo de Oro. La visión del P. Ribadeneyra en el cisma de Inglaterra.”
11. Ribadeneyra, *Historia eclesiástica*, 13.
12. Anne’s image would be mitigated in other works inspired by Ribadeneyra. Escudero observes that in Calderón’s *La cisma de Inglaterra* (The schism of England) Anne’s lewdness and dishonesty, so keenly stressed by Ribadeneyra, place second to a greater emphasis on Anne’s unbridled ambition, as this probably fit in better with the need for decorum (31–39).
13. Ribadeneyra, *Historia eclesiástica*, 151.
14. For Ribadeneyra, two just causes coincide in war, “that of God, where war is waged against the infidel and heretics that are his enemies; and ours, when we have been provoked by them and we seek to redress the insults they have made against us and we justly reinstate our safety and reputation. But when these two causes concur, our first concern should be the main cause, which is the glory of the Lord and the exaltation of his holy faith” (*Tratado de la tribulación*, 191r–191v).

15. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Filipe*, 45. Cabrera de Córdoba explains that the intentions of the French to invade England in 1560 were based on their consideration of Elizabeth as a “tyrant and heretic” and, as such, illegitimate; and he describes the plans of Philip II to reach an alliance with England both “to save the Low Countries from danger” and so that Elizabeth “would allow Catholics their freedom.” To this end it was planned to send an armada to Flanders to disrupt the plans of the French court and to negotiate the marriage of the Tudor queen “to one of the archdukes of Austria” (*Filipe*, 266–67).
16. As described by Cabrera de Córdoba, among others (*Filipe*, 212–13).
17. One of the characters of Tirso de Molina’s *No hay peor sordo que el que no quiere oír* (There are none so deaf as those who will not listen) (1626), don Juan, describes Elizabeth as “a bastard Elizabeth [who] poisoned her country” (281).
18. Yepes, *Historia particular*.
19. Ribadeneyra, *Monumenta histórica*, 311 (emphasis mine).
20. Ribadeneyra, *Historia eclesiástica*, 229–30.
21. Ribadeneyra, *Tratado de la religión*, 72.
22. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Filipe*, 212–13.
23. Ribadeneyra, *Historia eclesiástica*, 232.
24. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Filipe*, 212–13 (emphasis mine). Juan Botero follows the same discourse when describing the crowning of Elizabeth. See *Historia eclesiástica* (46v).
25. Ribadeneyra, “Exhortación,” 350.
26. Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia de lo sucedido*, 3r–3v (emphasis mine).
27. Ribadeneyra, *Historia eclesiástica*, 51r.
28. Which leads Botero to describe these centers as “seminaries of martyrs rather than schools of students” (*Historia eclesiástica*, 51).
29. Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia de lo sucedido*, 48v–50v (emphasis mine).
30. Also in Cabrera de Córdoba (*Filipe segundo*, 644).
31. Lope de Vega, prólogo of *Corona trágica*.
32. The full epitaph reads: “Aquí ya za Isabel, aquí la/ nueva Athalia/ del oro/ antártico harpia/ del mar/ incendio cruel:/ Aquí el ingenio, mas diono/ de loor quæ /ha tenida el suelo,/si para/ llegara al cielo/no hunier a/ errado el camino.” (Here lies Isabel, here lies the new Athalia, the harpy of the western gold, the cruel firebrand of the sea: here lies a wit the most worthy of fame which the earth had, if to arrive to heaven she had not missed her way). And in *La Dragontea* (The Dragontea), the Queen is also qualified in a similar

- style: "Look at the queen of the Dragon, Medea / who parades around the coasts of America" (161–68).
33. Elizabeth, with her ruses, had supported the rebels in France and Scotland "so that those kingdoms would never know peace," and also in Flanders, first through third parties, such as the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Aleçon, until finally "she removed her mask and resolved to favour them openly, considering it more important to keep the king occupied in that war than free and at rest so that he could not punish her" (Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia de lo sucedido*, 51r–51v).
 34. Álvarez Recio, *Rameras de Babilonia*, 190–91.
 35. Alonso Fernández, *Historia eclesiástica*, 438.
 36. Zúñiga, *Mujer y poder*, 629.
 37. Quoted in Zúñiga, *Mujer y poder*, 158, 545–46.
 38. On the theme of tyrannicide in general, see Usunáriz, "Tiranicidio y derecho de resistencia."
 39. Ribadeneyra, *Historia eclesiástica*, 255.
 40. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Historia de Felipe*, 1203.
 41. Diamante, *La reina*, 447.
 42. Ribadeneyra, *Exhortación*, 364.
 43. This image of Elizabeth as a tyrant, which would justify, according to Ribadeneyra, the endeavors of Philip II against England, is also taken up in the poem "Al Rey Felipe II" (To King Philip II) by Cristóbal de Virués. See Alfredo Hermenegildo, 402.
 44. See in this regard Gómez-Centurión, *La invencible*, chap. 1.
 45. Rodríguez Salgado considers that the Anglo-Spanish war, begun in 1587–88, was the enforced response of Philip II in the face of English pressure "among other things because, if he did not do it, his reputation would suffer," and not so much the result of a struggle for the hegemony that was taking place between the Spanish monarchy and France or with England (116). On defensive war, see Gómez Centurión, *La invencible*, chap. 1.
 46. Rodríguez-Salgado, "Paz ruidosa," 98. See also Gómez-Centurión, *La Invencible* (61). On propaganda in the Spain of Philip II, see Fernando J. Bouza, *Imagen y propaganda: capítulos de historia cultural del reinado de Felipe II*.
 47. For arguments against distortions, see Gómez-Centurión, 57; see also José Martínez Millán, (254, 260).
 48. Ribadeneyra, *Historia eclesiástica*, 359–60.

49. Yepes, *Historia particular*, Lib II, Cap XIX, 163–65.
50. See Usunáriz on relations with England in the seventeenth century (“Crítica y política,” 227–50).
51. Usunáriz, “Crítica y política,” 227–50.

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CHAPTER 3

Antichrists, Pope Lovers, and Atheists

The Politics of Elizabeth I's *Christian Prayers and Meditations*

VALERIE BILLING

Elizabeth I, in a rare example of her familiarity with the Spanish language, begins a 1569 prayer with the following address, translated from Spanish:

Omnipotent Lord God and my most loving Father, who by Thy admirable goodness and immense mercy hast wished to make of me, poor, sinning daughter of Adam, an instrument of Thy glory, an instrument with which Thou mayst be glorified in constituting me as head and governess of Thy wealthiest kingdom in these most unhappy times in which Thy Church, Thy only spouse, is in so great a manner oppressed by the tyranny of Satan and his ministers, be willing to assist me with Thy Holy Spirit.¹

This passage touches on a number of details important to how Elizabeth constructed herself as both a domestic and an international champion of the Protestant cause. She declares England's superiority over other nations—it is God's "wealthiest kingdom"—while at the same time crediting God with her own queenly greatness. She calls herself a "poor, sinning daughter of Adam," only to follow this moment of humility with a reminder that she is the "head and governess" of England. The word "governess" evokes Elizabeth's religious title, Supreme Governor of the Church of England, and casts her as both a political and a religious leader. She calls the church she leads God's "only spouse," giving herself a privileged place

of familiarity with God. And her reference to “Satan and his ministers” suggests that she and God are aligned against a host of enemies and work together to defeat them.

This Spanish prayer comes from *Christian Prayers and Meditations in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, and Latin* (1569), the second volume of prayers Elizabeth published during the early part of her reign. As the title suggests, the volume contains prayers in several ancient and modern languages, making it a show of Elizabeth’s well-rounded humanist education and giving it an international flavor. Many of these prayers, including the one quoted above, contain surprisingly frequent and vehement statements about politics, usually couched in terms of the conflict between English Protestantism and continental Catholicism. The prayers underscore the intense political significance of this religious difference and the ways in which religion shaped how Elizabeth conceived of and presented to the public her role as England’s queen. They mix private devotion with bold statements about Elizabeth’s position as monarch of England, leader of the English church, and defender of pan-European Protestantism, casting prayer as a public act of international import. *Christian Prayers and Meditations* engages foreign politics especially pointedly through its composition in several languages. The multilingual collection of prayers allows Elizabeth to show off her extensive humanist education to a domestic and foreign audience; it also lets her speak to her allies and rivals both abroad and at home from her privileged position as Supreme Governor of the Church of England. By taking up the language of Elizabeth’s most powerful Catholic adversary, the three Spanish prayers in this volume serve as the means for Elizabeth to defy continental Catholicism as her greatest enemy, and for her to warn Catholics in her own realm against rebellion in no uncertain terms.

Recent scholarship on Elizabeth’s public persona and her domestic and foreign policy tends to focus on the queen’s speeches, but Elizabeth’s prayers are a vital yet overlooked source for understanding her religious and political agendas and how she presented them to her subjects.² As published collections, Elizabeth’s prayers likely circulated much more

widely during her reign than written copies of her speeches, meaning that many of Elizabeth's subjects, and perhaps foreign princes and their subjects, would have seen Elizabeth's image as queen constructed through these prayers rather than through the speeches on which modern scholarship tends to rely.³ The queen's prayers functioned as both devotional texts and policy propaganda, shaping how others understood the queen and her political and religious roles. Whereas Elizabeth's earlier Latin prayer book, *Precationes privatae. Regiae E.R.* (1563), mainly expresses the queen's domestic authority, the foreign-language prayers in *Christian Prayers and Meditations* imagine Elizabeth's dominance over her European neighbors. When she calls on God to help her resist "the tyranny of Satan and his ministers," Elizabeth makes a strong statement about the force with which she imagines overcoming her Catholic neighbors or converting them to the Protestant cause.⁴

As a young princess, Elizabeth received a thorough education and mastered the major ancient and modern languages.⁵ Though she wrote and likely spoke Spanish quite well, she distanced herself from its use later in her reign as England's relationship with Spain became increasingly strained (155, fn. 10). The three Spanish prayers included in *Christian Prayers and Meditations* thus provide a rare glimpse of Elizabeth's abilities in and use of the language. By employing the language of Spain, the Spanish prayers make it clear that England's relationship with Philip II was already under strain in 1569 and characterize Spain as the main threat to Elizabeth and her nation. Indeed, relations with Spain had soured quickly the previous year when the Duke of Alba seized English merchants and their goods under his jurisdiction in the Netherlands.⁶ The Spanish prayers, relying on verbs such as "confundir" (confound), "destruir" (destroy), and "tenian me vn tal odio" (hate), adopt the most violent tone of any in the collection and focus on Elizabeth's domination of her enemies. The language of these prayers vividly conjures physical threats of violence, making these prayers stand out in contrast to the other prayers in the collection in their articulation of the animosity Elizabeth felt toward her Catholic neighbors.

Furthermore, the Spanish and other foreign-language prayers function as a defense against a much closer Catholic threat: Mary, Queen of Scots. In November of 1569, the same year *Christian Prayers and Meditations* was published, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in northern England staged an uprising meant to reinstate Catholicism in the north and install Mary on the English throne. Elizabeth responded swiftly, sending an army of 14,000 soldiers north and arming London for battle. Her forces executed hundreds of rebels while Northumberland and Westmoreland fled into Scotland.⁷ Though short-lived, the Northern Rebellion of 1569, according to K. J. Kesselring, “tested and toughened Queen Elizabeth’s political and religious settlement” (2–3). *Christian Prayers and Meditations* participates in this toughening of the queen’s position on religion and tightening of political power by mixing the language of prayer with the language of war. Perhaps suspecting Spanish sympathy or aid for the rebels, Elizabeth uses the Spanish language for an especially violent depiction of her power in these prayers. Given the domestic context of the Northern Rebellion, *Christian Prayers and Meditations* functions as both a devotional text and a statement of Elizabeth’s strength and authority as England’s Protestant monarch.

Christian Prayers and Meditations is a curious collection: the first two sections, comprising nearly three hundred pages, contain a reprint of Henry Bull’s *Christian Prayers and Holy Meditations* (1566) and the liturgy for the Church of England.⁸ Only a few prayers in these sections are in the queen’s voice, but all of the prayers reflect the values of the English church over which she presided. The brief final section contains the foreign-language prayers in Elizabeth’s voice: seven in French, four in Italian, three in Spanish, three in Latin, and three in Greek. The foreign-language prayers’ placement in a cluster at the end of the volume makes them appear as an afterthought, but it also gives Elizabeth the final word, so to speak, in this collection. Furthermore, the foreign-language prayers endow the whole volume with international significance. As Jennifer Clement speculates, “it seems extremely likely that *Christian Prayers and Meditations* was meant to be read abroad, especially in those countries—primarily France and

Spain—that still followed the Roman Catholic Church and threatened Protestant England.”⁹ Though I agree that the foreign-language prayers seem pointedly to address a continental readership, I would qualify Clement’s claims about international circulation since no information survives confirming that any of these prayers made their way abroad.¹⁰ Whether *Christian Prayers and Meditations* circulated abroad or not, it nonetheless would have reached an educated English audience that read some or all of the foreign languages in which Elizabeth writes. The volume thus uses foreign languages to make strong claims about Elizabeth’s international and religious policies, bolstering her image as a ruler concerned with endorsing the Protestant cause both at home and across Europe. Despite their composition in a foreign language, the Spanish prayers’ particularly violent and aggressive tone seems designed to warn English Catholics against religious insurrection, especially given the contemporary context of the Northern Rebellion.

Even while making statements about international policy in the queen’s name, *Christian Prayers and Meditations* nowhere names Elizabeth as author or compiler. Authorship of the multilingual prayers in the second section of the volume, however, is generally attributed to her for several reasons: most of the prayers are in the voice of a female monarch, Elizabeth’s coat of arms ornaments the first and last leaves, and a frontispiece captioned “Elizabeth Regina” depicts Elizabeth kneeling in prayer. One of the five known surviving copies of the book appears to be a presentation copy from the printer, John Day, made specifically for Elizabeth, suggesting that the queen certainly knew he was distributing these prayers in her name.¹¹ These details market the prayers as Elizabeth’s, regardless of whether they actually came from her pen.

Supporting Elizabeth’s personal authorship of the foreign-language prayers, moreover, is their similarity in theme and expression to Elizabeth’s earlier published book of prayers, *Precationes privatae*.¹² As published volumes that could circulate widely throughout Elizabeth’s kingdom and beyond, these two prayer books were uniquely positioned to work together to craft the queen’s rhetoric of rule. *Christian Prayers and Meditations* echoes

Precationes privatae in exploiting the tensions between submission and dominance, weakness and conquest as they develop an image of Elizabeth's monarchical power. For example, a Latin prayer in *Christian Prayers and Meditations*, titled "Prayer to God for the Auspicious Administration of the Kingdom and the Safety of the People," depicts Elizabeth as weak and feminine in order to underscore the goodness of God in choosing her to rule: "since I am feminine and feeble, and only Thou art worthy to sit in governance of this kingdom and this administration (which in all things appears very difficult) it befits me to give an accounting in the presence of Christ before Thy judgment seat."¹³ The language here echoes that in several prayers from *Precationes privatae*, including the "Prayer for Wisdom in the Administration of the Kingdom": "How much less am I, Thy handmaid, in my unwarlike sex and feminine nature, adequate to administer these Thy kingdoms of England and of Ireland, and to govern an innumerable and warlike people, or able to bear the immense magnitude of such a burden, if Thou, most merciful Father, didst not provide for me (undeserving of a kingdom) freely and against the opinion of many men" (142).¹⁴ The Latin word "ancilla" (handmaid) in this passage is especially characteristic of Elizabeth's writing throughout *Precationes privatae*, and it reappears numerous times in *Christian Prayers and Meditations*, especially in the Italian and Latin prayers. Elizabeth simultaneously evokes her own harmless femininity and her status as a powerful ruler chosen by God despite her apparent shortcomings. In the same moment she expresses humility and disarms her reader by acknowledging her weaknesses, she reasserts her power and dominance over England and its enemies by positioning herself as God's favorite. This sort of double-switch is characteristic of Elizabeth's rhetoric across all of her prayers, as well as many of her speeches.

Christian Prayers and Meditations groups prayers of the same language together, and the tone of the prayers shifts and develops as the language changes. The shockingly aggressive tone of the Spanish prayers, the third linguistic set, stands out in distinct contrast to the humility and gratitude of the French and Italian prayers that precede them. The French section is

by far the longest, including a prefatory prayer and prayers titled “L’Oraison pour le Matin” (Morning Prayer), “Action de Graces” (Thanksgiving), “Oraison pour Tout le Royaume et Corps de l’Eglise Selon Leurs Etats et Membres” (Prayer for the whole kingdom and body of the church according to their estates and members), “L’Oraison pour le Soir” (Evening prayer), “Oraison pour Faire Deuant la Consulatation des Affaires de Royaume” (Prayer to make before consulting about the business of the kingdom), and, simply, “Priere” (Prayer). Clement argues that the French prayers, on the whole, “tend to be concerned with the establishment of a reformed community of believers,” a concern she links to the Huguenot struggle occurring in France at the time.¹⁵ The French prayers also, importantly, assign Elizabeth a privileged role in this community. “Thanksgiving,” for instance, thanks God for privileging Elizabeth with leadership of the transnational Protestant community:

besides these infinite benefits that Thou distributest commonly to all men on earth, Thou hast given me so many special graces that it is impossible for me to rehearse them, or even be able to comprehend them [. . .] Thou hast raised me and chosen me by Thy wonderful providence to confer on me under the majesty of Thy greatness a state of honor and excellence, to wit, royal dignity for the government and preservation of Thy people. (145)

Here, Elizabeth frames her earthly power as a passively-received gift from God, a rhetorical strategy that seems designed to alleviate anxieties surrounding female monarchy: Elizabeth reaffirms her own royal power while deferring to the power and goodness of a masculine God. This French prayer establishes a divinely-ordained order with God at the top and Elizabeth, thanks to God’s goodness, next, above the rest of humanity. Reinforcing this hierarchy, the prayer goes on to align Elizabeth with the biblical King David when she asks God, “give me grace as formerly Thou didst to David,” and draws on the Psalms to declare herself “Thy maid-servant” (146). “Maid-servant,” echoing David’s profession to be God’s “manservant,” functions as a gesture of humility that nonetheless positions

Elizabeth as the leader of a united church extending beyond England to its French-speaking neighbors. Clement argues that references to David recall Elizabeth's father, Henry VIII, who also styled himself as a new David by reforming the English church.¹⁶ By evoking the specter of her powerful father, Elizabeth positions herself as his heir in both faith and strength, carrying on Henry's legacy as Edward, in his youth and fragility, was unable, and Mary, as a Catholic, was unwilling to do.

The third Spanish prayer takes up yet shifts this theme of Elizabeth's paternity by casting her not as the daughter of Henry but the daughter of God, giving her an even more formidable lineage. Elizabeth offers thanks to God that he "hast made me Thy creature, made me by Thy hands to be formed in Thy image and similitude; and hast by the death and passion of Thy only Son Jesus Christ reconciled me with Thee, adopted me, and made me Thy daughter, sister of Jesus Christ Thy firstborn and of all those who believe in Thee."¹⁷ By casting herself as the daughter of God and the sister of Jesus, Elizabeth inserts herself into an alternative trinity or holy family. This relationship further strengthens Elizabeth's holy authority as governor of the English church and the champion of Protestantism on the continent.

The final sentences of the French prayer "Thanksgiving" allude to the reigns of Edward and especially Mary as dangerous times Elizabeth overcame through God's grace and her own strength. She thanks God for making her a survivor: "Thou hast broken my bonds, and hast preserved me in the midst of mortal dangers; Thou hast set me at large and in safety" (146). This prayer recalls Elizabeth's imprisonment during the reign of her Catholic sister, and the emphasis on survival accords with the language of female-gendered heroism that Mary Beth Rose argues comprised a key aspect of Elizabeth's rhetoric throughout her reign.¹⁸ Although Rose focuses on the language of survival and lived experience in Elizabeth's speeches, the queen's prayers take up this language to posit Elizabeth's survival of decades of political instability, forced religious conversions, disease, and assassination attempts as evidence of her authority to rule and her ability to overcome any sort of enemy. By casting Elizabeth as

the survivor of prior Catholic threats, this French prayer looks ahead to the more direct statements against Catholicism in the Spanish prayers.

The next French prayer, “Prayer for the Whole Kingdom and Body of the Church,” echoes “Thanksgiving” in another reference to David and the repetition of the word “seruante” (maidservant), a term that, in this prayer, expresses both humility and Elizabeth’s uniqueness: “tu m’as fait regner au milieu de ton peuple, tu donneras à *ta seruante et à tes serviteurs vn Coeur entendu*” (Thou hast made me to reign in the midst of Thy people; Thou wilt give to *Thy maidservant and to Thy menservants an understanding heart*).¹⁹ Among rulers and religious elites, Elizabeth stands out because of her gender: she is the singular woman among many men. She returns to this distinction in “Prayer to Make Before Consulting About the Business of the Realm,” describing herself and her councilors as “Thy humble maidservant and Thy manservants” (150). This female exceptionalism resurfaces with a new edge of violence in the Spanish “Tercera Oración” (Third Prayer) in which Elizabeth praises God’s greatness:

because Thou hast done me so special and so rare a mercy that, being a woman by my nature weak, timid, and delicate, as are all women, Thou hast caused me to be vigorous, brave, and strong in order to resist such a multitude of Idumeneans, Ishmaelites, Moabites, Muhammadans, and other infinity of peoples and nations who have conjoined, plotted, conspired, and made league against Thee, against Thy Son, and against all those who confess Thy name and hold to Thy holy Word as the only rule of salvation. (157)²⁰

The shift in tone from the French prayers to this Spanish prayer, made all the more noticeable by the repeated theme of female weakness, suggests that writing in Spanish raised a new set of concerns for Elizabeth. Elizabeth’s thanksgiving to God here is marked by the absence of the “menservant” allies present in the French prayers, yet sends the message not to test the strength of this female monarch: she has the full power of God behind her. Her list of non-Christian enemies identifies groups with which England has recently had no direct conflict, just as it obscures

Elizabeth's most immediate threat: Catholicism. This omission paradoxically calls attention to Catholicism and implicitly places it alongside a fearsome list of non-Christians. When the passage quoted above comes to "Thy holy Word," it names a particular point of disagreement between Catholics and Protestants—Protestant focus on scripture as opposed to Catholic focus on ritual—and further suggests that Catholicism belongs on this list. In details such as these, the Spanish prayers, while sharing themes such as Elizabeth's gender exceptionalism with the other foreign-language prayers, provide a subtle yet scathing attack on the perceived Catholic threat to England and threaten a violent response toward Spanish Catholics in particular.

The Italian prayers appear between the French and Spanish prayers and operate as a transition from the humility of the former to the aggression of the latter. The four Italian prayers, titled "Confession de' Piccati, al Signore" (Confession of Sins Unto the Lord), "Oratione Prima come Creatura di Dio" (First Prayer as a Creature of God), "Oratione Seconda, Come Cristiana, e Regina" (Second Prayer, as a Christian and a Queen), and "Oratione Terza per l'Amministrazione della Giustitia" (Third Prayer, for the Administration of Justice), move from an emphasis on mercy and humility suggested by the first two titles to a focus on Elizabeth's unique powers as a divinely-ordained Protestant monarch. In "For the Administration of Justice," Elizabeth takes up the familial relations with God established in the French prayers to thank God for his "fatherly goodness" (154). She then goes on to humble herself before God while asking him to make her a just and powerful judge: "may the mind of Thy handmaid be clear and just, her will sincere, her judgments fair and pious" (154). This theme of judgment looks ahead, yet offers a distinct contrast to judgment as it resurfaces in the Spanish "Segunda Oración" (Second Prayer). In this prayer, Elizabeth thanks God for granting her and her magistrates "el cuchillo" (weapon of authority) to judge and punish evil.²¹ Whereas the tone of the Italian prayer remains humble even while evoking Elizabeth's capacity to judge, the Spanish prayer, which I will analyze shortly in greater depth, takes up the language

of weaponry to emphasize the violence Elizabeth's judgments might readily employ.

Another Italian prayer, the "*Oratione Seconda, Come Cristiana, e Regina*" (Second Prayer, As a Christian and a Queen) showcases Elizabeth in both of these roles as uniquely possessing the authority to unite Western Europe under the banner of the Reformed Church. She begins by thanking God for calling her "by the preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the true worship and sincerity of Thy religion," emphasizing Protestantism as the "true" religion accessed through the holy Word (153). She then goes on to name "the authority which Thou hast given me" to become "Thy instrument for replanting and establishing in this part of the world, where it hath pleased Thee that I reign in the name of Thy kingdom, Thy worship, and most holy religion" (154). Elizabeth sees it as her duty to establish Protestantism in her realm but also, perhaps, across the European continent. At the end of the prayer, she asks God to give her the means "to do as I desire, uprooting every wicked seed of impiety to spread, plant, and root Thy holy Gospel in every heart, increasing throughout [*sic*] this Thy earthly kingdom, that heavenly one of Jesus Christ" (154). Sustaining the planting metaphor from earlier in the prayer, the tone begins to shift with the "wicked seed of impiety" toward the more aggressive tone of the Spanish prayers. This passage also, for the first time, privileges Elizabeth's desire to spread Protestantism across Europe. Instead of God's wishes working through Elizabeth, this transitional prayer shows Elizabeth's own desires coming to fruition with God's help. This Italian prayer looks ahead to the more significant shifts toward Elizabeth's Protestant, queenly aggression in the Spanish prayers that follow.

As I have been suggesting, the three Spanish prayers, titled simply "*Primera Oración*" (First Prayer), "*Segunda Oración*" (Second Prayer), and "*Tercera Oración*" (Third Prayer), put aside the humility Elizabeth expresses in the French and Italian prayers and assume a tone of dominance and aggression. Though she evokes the humility from the earlier sets of prayers by calling herself God's "humble maidservant" in the "*Primera Oración*," Elizabeth offers thanks to God for deliverance from her enemies

with surprisingly violent language: “Thou freest me from the cruel hands of my enemies—they who like ravenous wolves attempt to suck my blood and devour me alive. They hate me so because I put all my hope in Thee alone, because I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Thy most loving Son; much rather, I have been honored as one who surely holds the Gospel to be Thy power for giving salvation to all those who believe” (155).²² Elizabeth’s mention of the Gospel in this passage again underscores the belief that salvation comes from the Word—an important point of Anglican departure from Catholic dogma. The added emphasis on the Gospel through repetition thus implicitly aligns the blood-sucking wolves of the previous sentence with Catholics. The Spanish phrase “*tenian me vn tal odio*” (hate) places Elizabeth in a victimized position, casting her as a potential martyr to the Protestant cause.

The “*Tercera Oración*” returns to the violent themes of the “*Primera Oración*” and, like the first Spanish prayer, subtly marks Elizabeth’s enemies as specifically Catholic. In an oblique reference to the Catholic tradition of venerating saints as intercessors for the living, Elizabeth ends the prayer by asking that God “grant this to Thy Church for the sake of Him who is our only Intercessor and Advocate, He who is always in the presence of Thy Majesty interceding for her [the Church], who is Jesus Christ Thy eternal Son” (157).²³ The “*Tercera Oración*” also revives the aggressive tone of the “*Primera Oración*” when Elizabeth prays, “Lord, may those who persecute Thy Church be ashamed and disquieted perpetually, and may they be confounded and perish” (157).²⁴ The violence of Elizabeth’s wishes here responds to the violence she claims to have experienced in the “*Primera Oración*” and evokes the specters of Elizabeth’s two Catholic threats: invasion from abroad and rebellion from her own northern lords. In this prayer, she asks her God to take full vengeance on her Catholic enemies, calling for their mental, emotional, spiritual, and physical destruction. Though the French and Italian prayers express anxieties about Catholic enemies, they never call for those enemies’ annihilation.

Unlike the other foreign-language prayers, each Spanish prayer begins with a biblical quotation that sets the antagonistic tone of these prayers

before they begin. The “Primera Oración” begins with a line from Psalm 34: “Great are the tribulations of the just, but the Lord will free them from all these” (155).²⁵ The prayer that follows references several biblical figures famous for their trials and their suffering including Lot, Daniel, and Susanna. As it sets up Elizabeth’s own plea for deliverance from the “ravenous wolves,” the prayer goes on to identify Elizabeth’s religious and political enemies. The “Segunda Oración” starts with a verse from 1 Kings 3: “Give to thy maidservant a wise heart to pass judgment on Thy people and to discern the good from the bad, for who is able to judge Thy people that are so great a multitude?” (156).²⁶ This theme of judgment carries into the prayer, in which Elizabeth, calling herself “I, Thy maidservant,” prays that she “may have a wise heart that can discern between the good and the bad. And in this manner may justice be administered in this Thy kingdom and the good approved and rewarded; and on the contrary the evil condemned and castigated” (156).²⁷ Through this prayer, Elizabeth declares herself to be the judge of good and evil in her realm, and her emphasis on punishment resurfaces in the next sentence: “since for this Thou hast constituted magistrates and hast put the weapon of authority in their hand, vouchsafe it, O Lord and my God” (156).²⁸ This reference to authority as a weapon to be wielded against God’s enemies casts Elizabeth and the judges she appoints as violent enforcers of Protestantism. This focus on judgment addresses all of Elizabeth’s enemies and the enemies of Protestantism, but it carries a particularly pointed warning for the rebellious Catholics of Elizabeth’s realm—those over whom she could most quickly and easily exercise justice.

Compounding the threats and warnings of the first and second Spanish prayers, a verse from Psalm 37 heads the final “Tercera Oración”: “The unjust shall perish without any resting place, and the stopping place of the wicked is perdition” (156).²⁹ This epigraph’s emphasis on eternal punishment seems out of place in the context of the prayer book as a whole, which focuses on sin and forgiveness. Its statements of shockingly violent judgment and damnation carry into the prayer that follows. Elizabeth asks God to persist

in giving me strength so that I, like another Deborah, like another Judith, like another Esther, may free Thy people of Israel from the hands of Thy enemies. Lord, rise up and judge Thy cause. Pour out Thy wrath upon the peoples who do not acknowledge Thee and upon the kingdoms that do not call upon Thy name. Before our eyes let the case between the nations be judged; let the blood of Thy servants, which has been poured out, be avenged. (157)³⁰

The theme of judgment from the “Segunda Oración” resurfaces in this prayer as Elizabeth aligns herself with a series of biblical heroines associated with good judgment. The Old Testament celebrates Deborah, Judith, and Esther as women who, with the help of God, liberate the Israelites from a series of oppressors, and Elizabeth equates herself with these women and England with God’s chosen people before asking for judgment and the destruction of the enemies of both God and England. Analyzing sixteenth-century comparisons between Elizabeth and Deborah, Carol Blessing argues that references to Elizabeth as a Deborah figure during her reign cast her as the champion of Protestantism, as a warrior fighting the “Canaanite tyranny” of Catholicism (22). Though the Deborah of Judges is both a warrior and the only female judge named in the Bible, Blessing notes that Elizabeth’s contemporaries tended to gloss over Deborah’s role as a judge in their comparisons and rather emphasized the necessity that Elizabeth listen to the judgment and advice of her male councilors (21, 23). By evoking Deborah specifically within the context of judgment, this prayer shows Elizabeth reclaiming an aspect of the comparison that others had obscured. While likening herself to Deborah, however, Elizabeth also asks that God judge their shared enemies. The agency and action in this passage become blurred; Elizabeth first asserts that she has the strength and judgment to free Protestant England from its enemies, and then defers to God as the ultimate judge. The queen performs a delicate balancing act between asserting her own power as a monarch and governor of the English church and disarming her potential critics, including those who wanted her to defer to male

councilors, through submission to a wrathful, masculine God. In this Spanish prayer, Elizabeth complicates this deferral by making the connections between herself, on the one hand, and Deborah, Judith, and Esther, on the other, into another facet of the female exceptionalism she expresses in the French and Italian prayers.

As a judge in her own right and in her pleas to God as the divine judge, Elizabeth asks in this same passage from the “Tercera Oración” for judgment of the “case between nations,” rhetorically linking the borderless divisions between religious groups with the physical boundaries that separate officially Catholic and Protestant European countries. While England at the time experienced Catholic threats from abroad, the Northern Rebellion also located this threat within England. At the same time, several continental states, including France and Holland, were seeing bloody conflicts between Catholics and Protestants within their own borders.³¹ When Elizabeth refers to the spilled “blood of Thy servants” and asks for revenge, she likely has some of these conflicts in mind. By writing this prayer in Spanish, Elizabeth obliquely aligns Spain with the nations she so vehemently asks God to judge; as Blessing asserts, “in the language of her enemies, Elizabeth prays for their defeat” (23). This historical context returns us to the prayer’s epigraph, quoted in the previous paragraph, and its curse that “the unjust shall perish without any resting place.” The vengeance Elizabeth calls for against those who have harmed Protestants and the Protestant cause leaves her enemies without the hope of salvation.

Despite the intense physical violence in the rhetoric of the Spanish prayers, they nonetheless only refer obliquely to Spain and to Catholicism. The “Primera Oración” relies on the repetition of the word “Euangelio” (Gospel) to privilege Protestantism and demonize Catholicism, and the reference to Christ as the only intercessor in the “Tercera Oración” appears in a subordinate clause. Despite Elizabeth’s apparent desire to obliterate her Catholic enemies with force and violence, the prayers resist naming those enemies outright and issuing a direct challenge or inviting a military invasion. Though Spain invoked Christian belief and the idea of a “just war”

to justify their violent exploits in the New World, Elizabeth shied away from this kind of rhetoric and generally refused to engage openly in war or send armies to embattled Protestant territories. Instead, she preferred to offer covert aid in the form of spies or state-sponsored piracy.³² The Spanish prayers reflect this delicately balanced foreign policy, in which Elizabeth showed interest in supporting Protestant causes while keeping England safe from invasion and wartime bankruptcy.

The Latin and Greek prayers that conclude *Christian Prayers and Meditations*, however, state more boldly what the Spanish, French, and Italian prayers obscure. In the Latin “Prayer to God for the Auspicious Administration of the Kingdome and the Safety of the People,” Elizabeth offers thanks to God “that Thou hast granted that Christ, banished from the realm of England, be returned and restored to His rights and privileges by my ministry.”³³ Elizabeth credits herself with correcting the banishment of the Protestant faith that occurred during the reign of her sister Mary, referring specifically to a moment of Catholic-Protestant conflict in England and returning to the theme of her sister’s reign invoked in the French prayer “Thanksgiving,” discussed earlier. The prayer also raises the specter of the other Mary—Mary Stuart—and the northern rebels’ hope of placing her on Elizabeth’s throne and again banishing Protestantism from England. Instead of focusing on Elizabeth as a victim and survivor of her sister (or Mary Stuart) as the French prayer does, however, this Latin prayer gives Elizabeth a heroic role as the champion of the true religion in England.

The third Greek prayer and final prayer of the volume, “Prayer of the Queen to God,” makes the clearest statement of Elizabeth’s religious and political strength and leaves no doubt as to the identity of Elizabeth’s enemies. I quote the prayer in full:

Father most high, who has laid out the universe with Thy Word and adorned it with the Holy Spirit, and who hast appointed me as monarch of the British kingdom, favor me by Thy goodness to implant piety and root out impiety, to protect freely willed religion, to destroy superstitious

fear by working freely to promote divine service, and to spy out the worship of idols; and further, to gain release from the enemies of religion as well as those who hate me—Antichrists, Pope lovers, atheists, and all persons who fail to obey Thee and me. With all these things, omnipotent Lord, favor me, and after death my kingdom will be the kingdom of heaven, amen. (163)³⁴

This prayer fills in the enemies missing from the list of “Idumeneans, Ishmaelites, Moabites, Muhammadans,” cited earlier in the “*Tercera Oración*,” this time using some of the most insulting names for Catholics: Antichrists and Pope lovers. This prayer’s references to superstition and idols points to specific charges Protestants often levied against Catholics.³⁵ This final prayer of *Christian Prayers and Meditations* draws on the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings to affirm that as God created the universe, he also placed Elizabeth on the throne of England.³⁶ By asking for punishment for those “who fail to obey Thee and me,” Elizabeth deviates from the earlier emphasis on her subordination to God as his “appointed . . . monarch of the British Kingdom” and places herself on a more even plane with God, who has become her personal ally. In so doing, she aligns her goals as a monarch with the goals of a larger Protestant community protected by God.

The inclusion of three Spanish prayers in *Christian Prayers and Meditations* enables Elizabeth to exploit the connections between Spain and Catholicism as she offers a stern warning to Catholics in England, many of whom were involved in the Northern Rebellion, to regard her authority. The warnings in the prayers extend to an international community whose strongest rulers were Catholic, and especially to Spain, with whom Elizabeth had a host of conflicts not limited to religious difference. By focusing on her own exceptionalism as a female, Protestant monarch, Elizabeth turns her foreign-language prayers toward her own efforts at nation-building, confirming her position as monarch of England and asserting her dominance over a hostile, largely-Catholic continent. The Spanish prayers comprise only a brief section of *Christian Prayers and*

Meditations, but they are especially complex, serving simultaneously as threats against would-be Spanish invaders and warnings to English Catholics who might hope for a Catholic coup. With their pointedly violent language, the Spanish prayers dominate the foreign-language section of *Christian Prayers and Meditations* and make Elizabeth's threats against her Catholic enemies into one of the most significant themes of the prayer volume. Elizabeth's prayers, though understudied, remain important for understanding how she thought about foreign policy and understood her domestic and international position as the queen of England.

NOTES

1. Marcus, Mueller, and Rose, *Elizabeth I*, 156. "Señor Dios todo poderoso y Padre mio amantissimo, que por tu admirable bondad y inmensa misericordia has querido hazer à me pobre pecadora hija de Adan, instrumento de tu gloria, instrumento con que tu seas glorificado constituyendo me por cabeça y gouernadora deste tu opulentissimo Reyno en estos tan infelicissimos tiempos, en que tu yglesia vnica esposa tuya es en tan gran manera oprimida de la tyrania de Satanas y de sus ministros, ten por bien assistir me con tu sancto Espiritu" (Mueller and Marcus, 142). All English-language quotations from Elizabeth's writings come from Leah Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose's 2000 collection of Elizabeth's writing, *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*. All foreign-language originals appear in Mueller and Marcus's companion collection, *Elizabeth I: Autograph Compositions and Foreign Language Originals* (2003).
2. The vast majority of scholarship on Elizabeth relies on evidence from a few speeches: the Petticoat Speech (1566), the Tilbury Speech (1588), and the Golden Speech (1601). In a more thorough analysis of all of Elizabeth's surviving speeches, Mary Beth Rose argues that Elizabeth's speeches develop a public persona through a rhetoric of rule that relies on "explicitly gendered terms" ("Gendering," 1077). By considering Elizabeth's prayers, this essay argues for a parallel rhetoric of rule couched in religious terms.
3. Clement, "Imperial," 165.
4. Marcus, Mueller, and Rose, *Elizabeth I*, 156.
5. Elizabeth was producing translations from an early age, most notably a translation of Marguerite de Navarre's *Le Miroir de l'Âme Pecheresse* (The Glass of

the Sinful Soul). Elizabeth translated this text as a gift for Queen Catherine Parr, the last wife of Henry VIII, in 1544 when she was only eleven years old (Ellis, 31). David Starkey describes the young Elizabeth as her tutor Roger Ascham's "star pupil," elaborating on her mastery of Latin, French, and Italian while under his instruction (80–81). Marcus, Mueller, and Rose's collection of Elizabeth's works includes a number of French and Latin speeches, prayers, letters, and other writings.

6. Ramsay, "The Foreign Policy," 156.
7. Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion*, 1–3.
8. Clement, "Queen's," 4.
9. Clement, "Queen's," 9.
10. Clement cites no specific evidence of international circulation, and I have found none. Two of the five known surviving copies of *Christian Prayers and Meditations* are housed in England, at the Lambeth Palace Library and St. Paul's Cathedral. The others reside in the United States at Yale University, the John Carter Brown Library, and the Henry E. Huntington Library. Many thanks to the staff at the Huntington for their assistance in finding the surviving copies.
11. Housed in the Lambeth Palace library, many scholars, including Clement, John N. King, and Elizabeth Evenden, agree that this copy of the book was "produced specifically for the queen herself" (Evenden, 107).
12. For further analysis of this similarity, see Clement ("Queen's," 5).
13. Marcus, Mueller, and Rose, *Elizabeth I*, 159. Latin in Mueller and Marcus (145–46).
14. Latin in Mueller and Marcus, *Elizabeth I: Autograph*, 122–23.
15. Clement, "Queen's," 16.
16. Clement, "Queen's," 23.
17. Marcus, Mueller, and Rose, *Elizabeth I*, 156–57. "que no solamente me has hecho criatura tuya, hechura de tus manos formada á la imagen y semejança tuya, me has por la muerte y passion de tu vnico Hijo Iesu Christo reconciliado con tigo, adoptado me y hecho hija tuya, hermana de Iesu Christo tu primogenito y de todos aquellos que en ti creen" (Mueller and Marcus, 143).
18. Rose, *Gender*, 38–42. Rose asserts that Elizabeth "inscribes herself as the embattled protagonist in a trajectory of deliverance" by incorporating the details of her own biography into her rhetoric of rule (38). She argues that this biography is characterized primarily by Elizabeth's survival "of her mother's

execution, of being declared illegitimate by her father, of the complicated plots to discredit her politically during the reigns of her siblings, of imprisonment, enforced religious conversion, smallpox, and forty-five years as a woman on the English throne" (37–38). Rose focuses on the rhetoric of Elizabeth's speeches, but a similar rhetoric of survival appears in Elizabeth's prayers.

19. Marcus, Mueller, and Rose, *Elizabeth I*, 147 (emphasis added). French in Mueller and Marcus, *Elizabeth I: Autograph*, 132.
20. "porque me has hecho esta tan señalada y tan rara merced, que siendo yo vna muger de mi naturaleza flaca, timida y delicada, como lo son todas las demas, me has querido hazer robusta, animosa y fuerte para resistir a tanta multitud de Idumeos, Ismaelitas, Moabitas, Agarenos y otra infinidad de gentes y naciones que se auian juntado, conjurado, conspirado y hecho liga, contra ti, contra tu hijo y contra todos aquellos que confiessen tu nombre y tienen por vnica regla de salud a tu sancta palabra." Mueller and Marcus, *Elizabeth I: Autograph*, 143.
21. Mueller and Marcus 142; Marcus, Mueller, and Rose, *Elizabeth I*, 156.
22. "me liberaste de las crueles manos de mis enemigos, los quales como lobos hambrientos me pretendian chupar la sangre y tragar me biua. Tenian me vn tal odio, porque yo ponía en ti solo toda mi esperança, porque yo no me auergonçaua del Euangelio de tu amantissimo Hijo: mas antes me honraua del, como aquella que tenia por cierto el Euangelio ser potentia tuya para dar salud à todos los que creen." Mueller and Marcus, *Elizabeth I: Autograph*, 142.
23. "O Señor concede esto á tu yglesia por aquel vnico intercessor y abogado nuestro que siempre está delate de tu Magestad intercediendo por ella, que es Iesu Christo tu eterno Hijo." Mueller and Marcus, *Elizabeth I: Autograph*, 143.
24. "Sean Señor los que persiguen à tu yglesia auergonçados y conturbados perpetuamente, y sean confundidos y perezcan." Mueller and Marcus, *Elizabeth I: Autograph*, 143.
25. "Mvchas son las tribulaciones de los justos, pero el Señor los libra de todas ellas." Mueller and Marcus, *Elizabeth I: Autograph*, 141.
26. "Da a tv sierva vn coraçon entendido para iuzgar à tu Pueblo, y para discernir lo bueño de lo malo: Porque quien podra iuzgar este tu pueblo el qual es tan grande en multitud?" Mueller and Marcus, *Elizabeth I: Autograph*, 142.
27. "para que yo tu sierua tenga coraçon entendido que pueda discernir entre lo bueno y lo malo: y desta manera sea en este tu Reyno administrada iusticia,

- sea lo bueno aprouado y remunerado: y por el contrario lo malo condenado y castigado.” Mueller and Marcus, *Elizabeth I: Autograph*, 142.
28. “Pues que para esta tu has constituido el Magistrado y le has puesto el cuchillo en la mano. Esto te pido O Señor y Dios mio.” Mueller and Marcus, *Elizabeth I: Autograph*, 142.
 29. “Los inivstos pereceran sin quedar ninguno, y el paradero de los malos es perdicion.” Mueller and Marcus, *Elizabeth I: Autograph*, 143.
 30. “dar me fuerças para que yo como otra Debora, como otra Iudith, como otra Esther libre à tu pueblo de Israel de las manos de tus enemigos, leuantate Señor iuzga tu causa. Derrama tu ira sobre las gentes que no te conocen y sobre los Reynos que no inuocan to Nombre. Sea conocida entre las naciones delante de nuestros ojos la vengança de la sangre de tus sieruos que es derramada.” Mueller and Marcus, *Elizabeth I: Autograph*, 143.
 31. Violence against French Huguenots was common throughout the 1560s, and Elizabeth was often pressured to aide these French Protestants. She sometimes refused and at other times sent aid covertly. Somerset, *Elizabeth I*, 155–56, 214. The St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre of 1572, three years after the publication of *Christian Prayers and Meditations*, became the most famous and bloody incident of the conflict (272–73). In the mid-1560s, Spain began to combat the rising Protestant numbers in the Netherlands—as well as in their New World colonies—with military intervention (215).
 32. See Starkey, *Elizabeth I*, 320, Ramsay, *Foreign Policy of Elizabeth I*, 157, 167–38, and Carole Levin, *Reign of Elizabeth I*, 57–58, 67–68.
 33. Marcus, Mueller, and Rose, *Elizabeth I*, 159. Latin in Mueller and Marcus, *Elizabeth I: Autograph*, 145–46.
 34. Greek in Mueller and Marcus *Elizabeth I: Autograph*, 149.
 35. Catholic Spain, however, justified its New World conquest by claiming to save the Indians from their superstitious and idolatrous practices.
 36. The Divine Right of Kings, an ideology that reaches back to the Middle Ages, asserts that God endows earthly monarchs with their authority. Rose argues that Elizabeth employed the language of the divine right of kings in order to define herself “by inscribing herself in prestigious male discourses” (“Gender,” 35). Elizabeth makes this male discourse entirely her own, however, in the way she figures submission as a key aspect of her divinely ordained right to England’s throne.

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Fig. 1. *Elizabetha Angliæ et Hiberniæ Reginae*, Thomas Cecil, 1625. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

CHAPTER 4

Elizabeth I and the Politics of Representation

The Triumph over Spain

MERCEDES ALCALÁ-GALÁN

I begin this study with an engraving by Thomas Cecil (1542–1623), dated 1625, twenty-two years after the death of Elizabeth I (fig.1). We see the queen in the company of Truth, who gives her a lance to finish off the Catholic Antichrist; in the background we see the ships of the Armada. In a more contemporary context, Jocelyn Hillgarth comments that the failure of the Armada was seen by many as proof of divine intervention against the power of the Catholic Antichrist, a victory in which England arises as a Protestant nation defended by God (395). As an example among many, she cites George Sandys who asserts, when referring to the victory over the Armada in his *Sacrae Heptades or Seaven Problems concerning Antichrist* (1625): “It was God who then pleaded the cause of Religion against Superstition, of Pietie against Idolatrie, of Christ against Antichrist. It was he onely [. . .] who then put it into the heart of our Zenobia and of her servants to send out those Peti-fierbotes that made the great Sea-castles to cut their cables, loose their Anchors and flye away” (101). On the other hand, John Reynold’s 1624 pamphlet *Vox Coeli or News from Heaven*, cited by Carole Levin, presents an Elizabeth who declares from the afterlife: “Yea, God was so gracious to England, and so mercifull to mee, as not only my ships and people, but the windes and waves fought for my defence, and that of my countrey, against the pride and malice of Spaine, who grew mad with anger and pale with grieve, to see this his great and warlike armada beaten,

foyled, and confounded” (169–70). With these testimonies, graphic and textual, chosen almost at random and dated long after the Spanish defeat, we see how this important political and military event became a symbol of the divine consecration of a Protestant England that forged its image and identity in opposition to the Spanish empire and to the Catholic axis of Europe. This ideological current can be traced to the period prior to the defeat of the Armada. In 1583, for example, as Hillgarth notes, William Cecil warned Elizabeth I of the dangerous symbiosis and identification of the papacy and Philip II: “Spain, yea Spain it is in which all causes do concur to give a just alarm [. . .]. First, in religion he [Philip II] is so much the pope’s and the pope in policy so much his” (365).

In this essay I intend to explore the extremely important role played by Spain in the ways that England as a nation reformulated itself through the invention and elaboration of the image of the queen, with whom it established a relationship of identification and symbiosis unique in the early modern period. In effect, after the victory over the Armada in 1588 the queen carried out a more intensified program of creating her own persona in a process of self-mythification. This has been widely studied and is known as the cult of Elizabeth.¹ What I’d like to explore here is the presence of the theme of Spain in Elizabeth’s impressive iconographic program, and more concretely in a number of portraits that link the representation of Elizabeth with a political project profoundly rooted in England’s relations with the Spanish empire.

Producing and Reproducing the Queen

Although the studies of her portraits acknowledge the theme of rivalry with Spain, these allusions show a need for deeper analysis. One reason for this may be that, given the obviousness of the political arena, the theme is taken as self-evident and is diluted among other themes present in the paintings, with special attention paid to the symbolism exhibited in various motifs of the portraits. What neither historiography nor political analysis has done in depth is recognize the theme of Spain, in all of its magnitude, within the very idea that England forged of itself during Elizabeth’s reign. I

believe that this modern notion of England as a universal empire embodied in a Virgin Queen evermore mythicized and sublimated was in large part the result of a play of reflections between England and its nemesis, Spain. This play of mirrors included imitation and emulation, as well as fierce competition and hostility, that would markedly differentiate England from its enemy. For example, during the reign of Elizabeth's predecessor, Mary Tudor, Richard Eden (1520–76) translated the *Decades* of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera in 1555 and asserted that Spain should be a model for England to emulate owing to its discovery and conquest of new lands. As David Boruchoff affirms, Eden denounced England's failure in this regard and demanded royal patronage as a solution (110).

My intention here is to discover the traces of Spain, or, rather, of the rivalry with Spain in the making of the notion of a powerful and triumphant England embodied by Elizabeth I. I believe that an examination of the symbols found in the portraits can provide us with a key to how an emerging English empire symbolically and ideologically forged itself before it was territorially relevant by modeling itself on and against the Spanish empire, then in the zenith of its power. There existed a very peculiar asymmetry between England and Spain with regard to the presence of each in the cultural production of the other. There are strikingly few references to Elizabeth I in Spanish literature apart from a small number of works. Moreover, the presence of England apart from Elizabeth in Spanish Golden Age literature is rare when compared to the abundant presence of Spain in the English imaginary of this era.² Given the scarcity of early modern Spanish works that to one extent or another focus on Elizabeth, I briefly refer to them here. Among these few works there are two important texts that elaborate political portraits of Elizabeth: Cervantes's "La española inglesa" (The Spanish-English lady) and Antonio Coello's *El conde de Sex* (The Earl of Essex) (1638). I will deal with these further on. Apart from Coello's work, there are only two other plays of the seventeenth century that refer to the fall of Mary Stuart and tangentially touch on Elizabeth in a negative light: *La reina María Estuarda* (Queen Mary Stuart) (1670) by Juan Bautista Diamante and *Lo que va de cetro a cetro y crueldad de Inglaterra*

(What passes from scepter to scepter, and England's cruelty) (ca. 1793) by José de Cañizares (1676–1750). Both works re-elaborate history in a religious mode, converting Mary Stuart into a Catholic martyr in contrast to the heretical cruelty of her cousin Elizabeth.³ Notwithstanding, Lope de Vega was the Spanish writer who not only wrote most about Elizabeth but was also among those who characterized her most negatively.⁴ In *La Dragontea* (The Dragontea) (1598)—an epic poem that narrates the last expedition and death of Sir Francis Drake, events that occurred between October 1595 and February 1596—Elizabeth is called “bloody Jezebel,” “incestuous progeny of the Harpy,” and “cold Sphynx” (vv. 129–33).⁵ Nonetheless it is in another poem, Lope's verse epic on the life and execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, *Corona trágica* (Tragic crown) (1627), which was dedicated to Pope Urban VIII (1568–1644) and provided the author with ecclesiastical and political benefits, where Lope elaborates an extremely pejorative and denigrating portrait of Elizabeth I. The English monarch, according to Lope's portrayal of her, embodies an aberrant nature that personifies Anglican heresy. Interestingly, Lope consistently alludes to her feminine condition, linking it to a moral monstrosity rooted in mythological or classical references and thus constructing in the figure of the queen the image of an timeless and malignant being. He characterizes her with the following epithets, among others: “Boleyn sphinx,” “heretical siren” (IV, v. 101, p. 373), and “Anglican serpent” (V, v. 42, p. 439). He also refers to the hypocrisy of Elizabeth having herself called a virgin when she is lascivious and promiscuous.⁶

Nonetheless, quite the opposite occurred in England.⁷ According to Barbara Fuchs, the Elizabethan epoch was profoundly marked by Spanish influence: it was fashionable to learn Spanish, and English literature was steeped in Hispanic literature and culture.⁸ She attributes the lack of awareness and scant attention on the part of critics in this regard to an erroneous assumption that there were no such impact given the hostility between the two nations. She also insightfully affirms that Spanish presence in the notion and ideation of an English empire goes unrecognized by scholars while at the same time other possible cultural influences are

assiduously traced: “While the interdependence of empire and culture was a central assumption for humanists charting their own descent from Rome and their role in *translatio imperii studii*que, scholarship has only begun to grapple with the extent to which a fully contemporary imperial and cultural competition undergirds the complex relations between England and Spain in the early modern period” (4). For my part, I believe that, with few exceptions, there has also been a general lack of interest in Spain within English historiography and literary criticism, and that much more attention has been paid to Italian and French influences.⁹ This invisibility of Spain, the true elephant in the room, has prevented the articulation of a solid theory establishing the vigor and immediacy of Philip II’s model of empire within the response whereby Elizabethan England reinvented itself in direct competition with—and as a reaction to—the Spanish menace.

The projected image of Elizabeth’s power goes beyond the political propaganda or the charisma exercised by any other monarch of the early modern period.¹⁰ Louis Montrose perceptively explores this phenomenon, arguing that “Queen Elizabeth was as much the creature of the Elizabethan image as she was its creator” (3) and affirming that she by no means dictated her strategies, but rather that these were prescribed “by the repertoire of values, institutions, and practices (including the pictorial and literary conventions) available to her for appropriation and innovation” (2). He interestingly defines this cult of Elizabeth as an incessant strategy of repeating the queen’s image over a period of many years: “A process of producing and reproducing ‘the Queen’ in [the] daily practices [of her subjects]—in their prayers and oaths, their gossip and their fantasies. But she was also rather more consciously and systematically fashioned by those Elizabethan subjects who were engaged in producing the texts, pictures, and performances in which the Queen was variously represented to her people, to her court, to foreign powers, and to Elizabeth herself” (2).

Regarding the iconographic efforts devoted to the projection of the queen’s image, there are known to be some one hundred and ninety-four

portraits of Elizabeth between oil paintings (about one hundred and twenty), drawings, and engravings. Innumerable copies of these portraits were made, and the entire process of dissemination of a carefully elaborated image of the queen was subjected to tight control.¹¹ There was thus a series of procedures that established which models of portraits were to be copied and disseminated. By the same token, unauthorized images had to be destroyed. Sir Walter Raleigh, for example, writes that the queen ordered unauthorized portraits of her to be burned, and this seems to have been frequent in a kingdom that established an iconographic offensive by means of the queen's portraits whose copies circulated abundantly throughout Europe.

I could say much more of the King's majesty, without flattery did I not fear the imputation of presumption, and withal suspect, that it might befall these papers of mine (though the loss were little) as it did the pictures of Queen Elizabeth, made by unskilful and common painters, which by her own commandment were knocked in pieces and cast into the fire. For ill artists, in setting out the beauty of the external, and weak writers, in describing the virtues of the internal, do often leave to posterity of well formed faces a deformed memory, and of the most perfect and princely minds a most defective representation. (xxii)

It is also well known that Elizabeth's reign established the custom of giving copies of her portraits to ambassadors and foreign delegations as well as to those who were to be honored with a gift.

Roy Strong affirms that the so-called cult of the queen originated around 1570 as a form of substitution for the Virgin Mary so as to establish a vivid presence that might replace the figures of Catholic religious practice in the imaginary of her subjects.¹² In this sense John N. King explores how the identification of Marian iconography was transferred from Mary Tudor to Elizabeth after Mary's death (1533–1558). Elizabeth's image was thus surrounded by pagan symbols such as the ermine and the sieve so as to highlight a virginity that converted her into an emblem of purity and into a woman inaccessible to men, and, synecdochically, that

PHILOSOPHORVM ZOOGOTATA ASCVLATIO SVO.

Vluere cui vires & robora sana dedisti
Scribere ni vellem, ne robore durior essem.

Ergo mihi (qua priuato perungere nulli
CASE datur) secum satis & satis Asira tuere est.

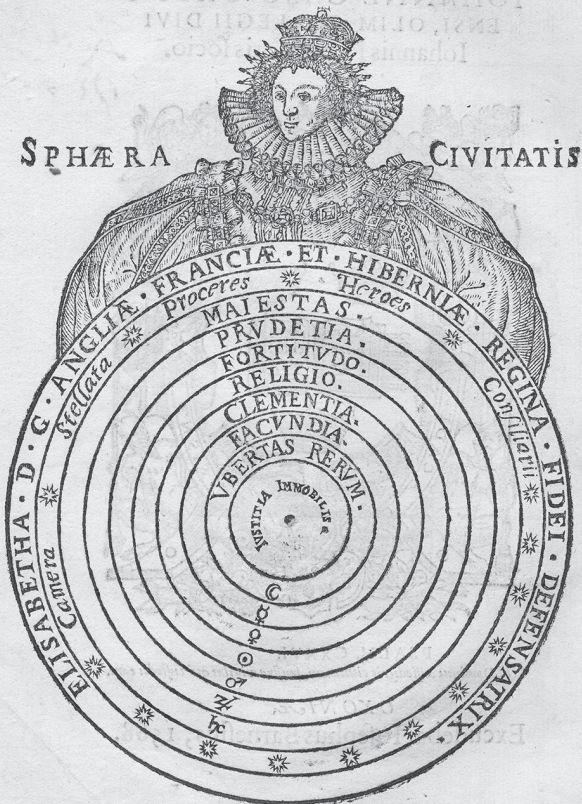


Fig. 2. *Sphaera Civitatis*, John Case, 1588. STC 4761 copy 2/ (par. 1 verso: verso of title page.) Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

turned England into a realm inaccessible to its enemies. Elizabeth was able to sublimate two great problems—her status as a woman and her lack of offspring—by becoming a sort of pagan deity situated above all the leaders of Europe.¹³ In this regard, Anne Cruz cites a curious religious ceremony that attempted to placate the Virgin for being devotionally supplanted by Elizabeth. On September 7, 1600, Queen Elizabeth's birthday, a series of celebrations were enacted in the English College chapel in Valladolid in honor of an image of the Virgin that was profaned in the sack of Cádiz in 1596: "the celebration was meant also to counter the festival in England in honor of Elizabeth, which overwrote the Virgin with the Virgin Queen" (49).

Cartographic Tropes and Imperial Design

As Elizabeth's reign advanced one can perceive an intensification in its representations of spatial symbols in which cartographic elements, terrestrial spheres, and depictions of geographic space were ever more present. The Spanish empire, together with hostility toward Philip II and the Catholic axis, were evidently the stimulus and model for this self-definition of England in proto-imperial terms in which universalist symbols were by no means spared.¹⁴ In the queen's identification with her iconographically portrayed realm, the use of maps created an illusion of territorial jurisdiction, a perception of concrete, objective power that helped to forge this notion of England in control of the universe. Robert Karrow accurately expresses how the maps no longer registered power but were its precursors: "We need to acknowledge the simple power of maps. Maps have an undeniable, if sometimes elusive, way of expressing knowledge of, mastery of, and control over the environments they depict; knowledge, mastery, and control are undoubtedly kinds of power. This power of maps rather subtly commands respect, deference, and subordination. Maps charm, intimidate, beguile, and browbeat—by their authority, their signs, what they show and how they show it, even by their scale" (7).

As of 1588 (the year of the defeat of the Armada) the portraits become eminently political and are filled with universalist symbols such as the

terrestrial globe, the armillary sphere, the moon, pearls (symbol of virginity and of the sea), and maps. There is in effect a recurrent insistence on a spatial dimension manifested through geographical tropes and, at the same time, on a progressive configuration of symbolic processes linking the queen to the nation and, more specifically, to the country's aspirations. For example, on the frontispiece of John Case's *Sphaera Civitatis* (1588), a commentary on Aristotle's *Politics*, the queen appears embracing a Ptolemaic sphere representing the universe (fig. 2). Elizabeth is not inside the universe. Rather, from outside the heavens and the earth, above all that exists, she embraces and possesses it; and within this universe in turn are inscribed the virtues and symbols of the queen. This image expresses *ad litteram* the universalist ambitions of England.

On the other hand, Frances Yates, among others, locates in the work of John Dee (1527–1608) entitled *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* (1577) the first program for turning England into an empire.¹⁵ What is strange about it is that the idea of empire long preceded the fact of empire: England at this time was an empire without lands. Although the imperial ideology was wrapped in a mythical genealogy and in an extravagant symbolic program, England had no territorial possessions other than minor colonies such as Virginia.¹⁶ In principle, the *General and Rare Memorials* was a treatise against pirates and foreign fishermen in English waters, but the programmatic and imperialist scope of the treatise turned it into a foundational text of English imperial ideology. It is not by chance that its frontispiece represents Europe with her name on the ship of state carrying Queen Elizabeth, and that the mythological semi-goddess Europa accompanies her on the bull in the water alongside (figs. 3 and 4).¹⁷ This appearance of the mythological Europe accompanying the queen implies a defiant response to the many gynecomorphic maps that abounded in the sixteenth century, which invariably placed the head of Europe on Spain. Some of these maps were favorable toward the Spanish empire, such as this one by Joannes Bucius in 1537 that represents Spain allegorically as head of Europe (fig. 5). This pro-imperial map is completely subverted by two anonymous anti-Spanish pamphlets, *Het*

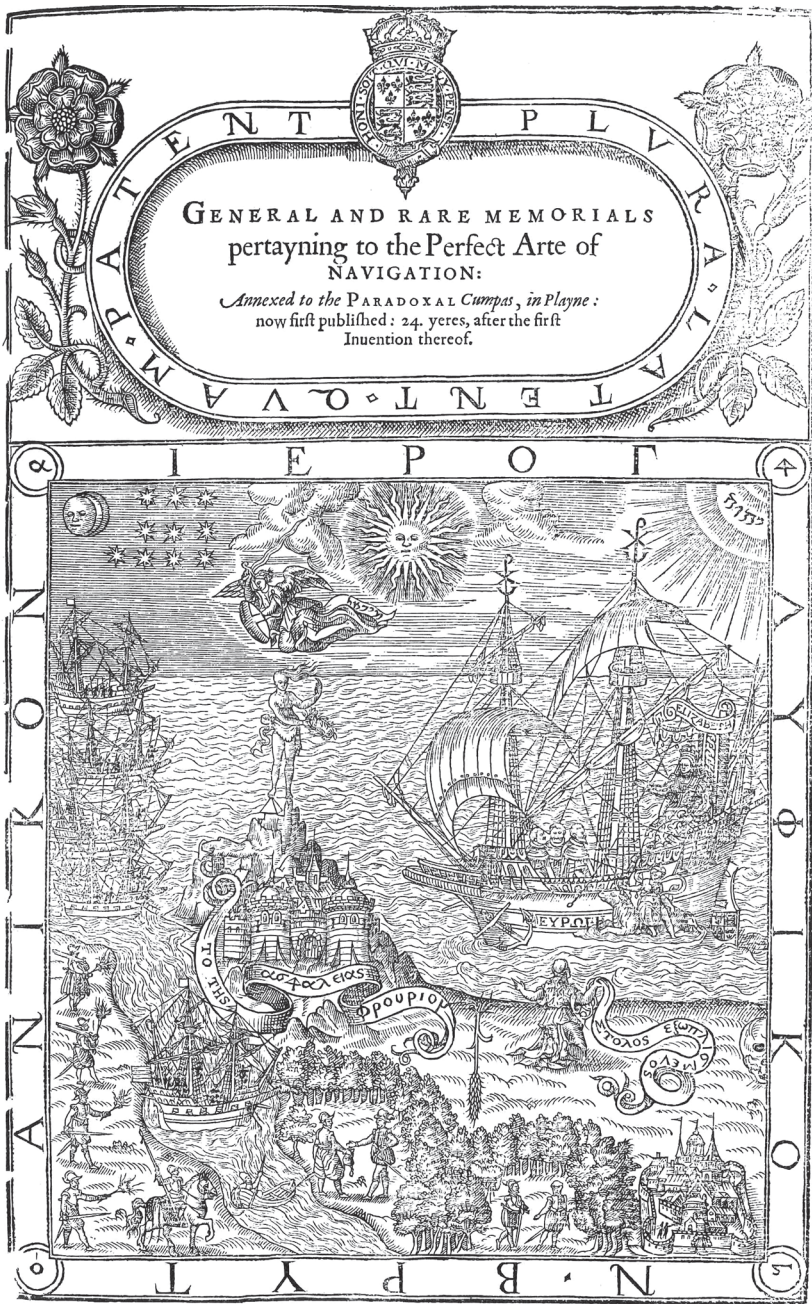




Fig. 3. (opposite) *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation*, John Dee, 1577.

Fig. 4. *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* (detail).

Der Cosmography.

21

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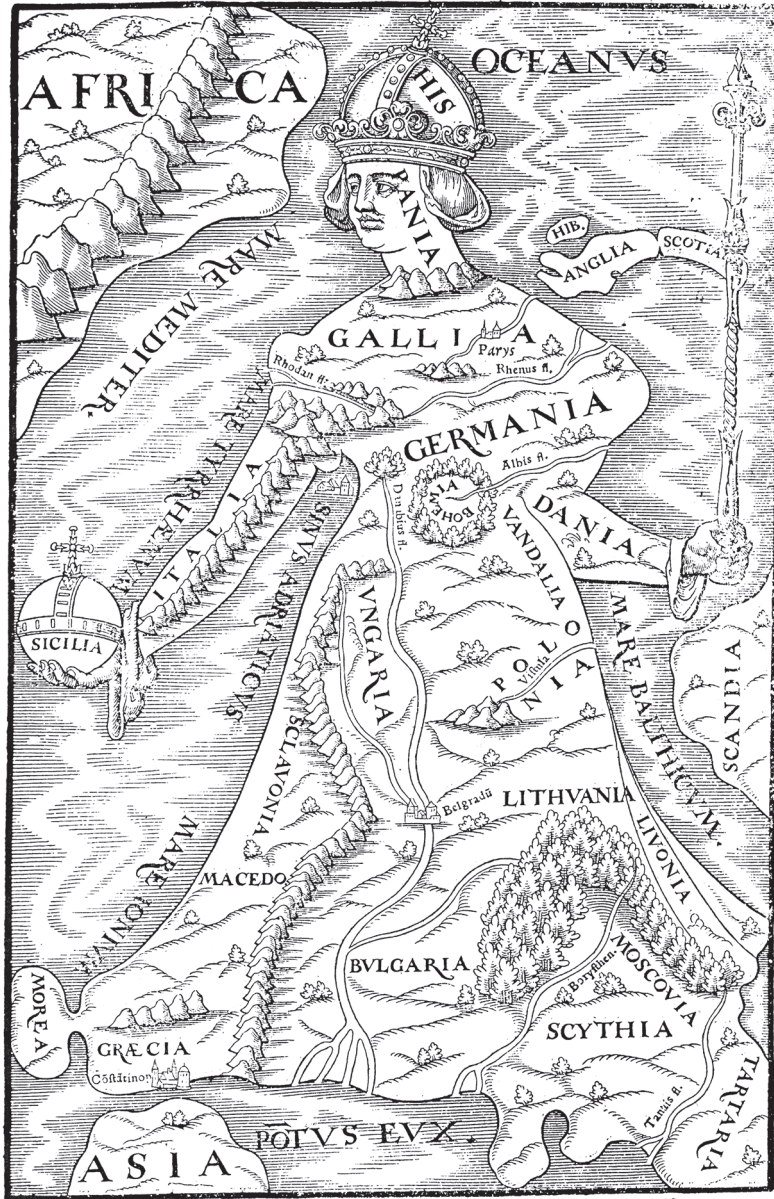




Fig. 5. (opposite) *Europa Regina*, Joannes Bucius, 1537.

Fig. 6. *Het Spaens Europa*, 1598. Courtesy of the Stewart Museum, Montreal, Canada

Spaens Europa (one published in Amsterdam, the other with no place indicated in 1598), that, according to John Marino, “have Spanish Europe brandishing a sword instead of holding her scepter. In the second version, the dispersal of the Spanish Armada around the British Isles discomfits an image of Philip II while a lone Sea Beggar holds off a menacing, clerical fleet led by a three-headed Antichrist pope (fig. 6)” (153).

In Elizabethan iconography this notion of space is fundamental, a notion that implies occupation and territorial control, be it celestial and cosmic as in the *Sphaera Civitatis* or literally geographic as we will see in other examples. Clearly, the personification of England’s imperial aspirations through the representation of Elizabeth emerges against the backdrop of the competition with Spain over maritime control in a process of

self-definition that incorporates a nascent imperial vision stimulated by the Spanish imperial reality. As Paul Lexton points out, the maps are essential instruments for the establishment of imperial aspirations: "As much as guns and warships, maps have been the weapons of imperialism. Insofar as maps were used in colonial promotion, and lands claimed on paper before they were effectively occupied, maps anticipated empire. [...] Maps were used to legitimize the reality of conquest and empire. They helped create myths which would assist in the maintenance of the territorial status quo. [...] In these imperial contexts, maps regularly supported the direct execution of territorial power" (57–58).

Curiously, however, in the imperial competition between Spain and England, one can discern different approaches to cartography that reveal two very different strategies. According to Ricardo Padrón, the sixteenth century was the period when the vastest empire of all times "was first forged on the ground and first imagined on the page. From early on in the history of Iberian territorial expansion, cartography and empire were inseparable" (8). Nonetheless, according to Padrón, Spain, which needed to protect its dominions, understood that the symbolic value of power transmitted by maps could be a factor of vulnerability by offering too much cartographic information to the competitors of the empire.¹⁸ Elizabeth, on the contrary, did not need to exercise such prudence because there was scarcely any territory or cartographic knowledge to keep secret, and she thus promoted her representation in a highly effective symbolized cartographic context. Maps provide a chimera of possession but also of dominion, appropriation, and knowledge of a territory that has been codified and reduced to scale. Maps imply a metaphor of control since geographic space is infinitely reduced, circumscribed by the surface of a canvas in which the sovereign treads upon, caresses, or embraces a limitless geography.

The Portraits and their Symbology with Respect to Spain

The Sieve Portrait (1583)

Chronologically, the earliest portrait I will refer to is that of the sieve (fig. 7). In this painting Elizabeth is curiously dressed in Spanish garb,



Fig. 7. *Queen Elizabeth I (the Sieve Portrait)* by Quentin Metsys the Younger (1583).
Courtesy Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena.

and on the column in the background—a clear allusion to the columns of Hercules, emblem of Charles V—is the story of Aeneas, with whom Elizabeth identifies herself, overcoming the temptation of Dido just as she overcame the temptation of marriage and protecting England from the tyranny of foreign princes (we should recall the failed marriage negotiations with Philip II after the death of her sister, Mary Stuart). As of the reign of Charles V, the two columns of Hercules and the motto “plus ultra” were adopted as imperial symbols, conveying the notion that Spain extended beyond the limits established by the classics. By covering the column with references to the Roman Empire, Elizabeth minimizes the political agency of Spain and links herself to the classical model of empire, thus legitimizing her imperial projects. There is a globe behind the queen. As commentators have pointed out, ships are crossing west on the globe, possibly an allusion to England’s conquest of the New World. The sentence, “TVTTO VEDO ET MOLTO MANCHA” (I see all and much is lacking) is inscribed on the globe, a clear allusion to the enterprise of Spanish conquest and colonization as an unfinished project that allows space for a future English empire. The column and the Spanish dress imply a means of embracing the concept of empire and of establishing Elizabeth’s legitimacy by declaring herself a successor to Aeneas. Deanne Williams observes how the Virgin Queen opposes herself to Virgil’s Dido, destroyed by her love for Aeneas, and identifies with another Dido who, according to legend, was linked to the foundation of Carthage: “The portrait argues that Elizabeth is not the Dido reduced to ashes, painted so small on the pillar, but the other Dido, the founder of the Carthaginian city-state (known for its Alpine-climbing elephants). By identifying Elizabeth with ‘this Dido,’ the portrait presents the imperialist binaries of triumph and defeat, and the erotic and moral distinctions between discernment and profligacy.”¹⁹

Despite having been painted in a period of relative calm in England’s relations with Spain, this portrait is symbolically construed in the search to legitimate the idea of empire through a genealogy supported by the prestige of the past and classical sources. On the other hand, the dress in



Fig. 8. *Armada Portrait*, unknown English artist (formerly attributed to George Gower), 1588. Courtesy Woburn Abbey.

Spanish style is a way of inhabiting the imperial idea. As of the declaration of war between England and Spain (1584–1604), the open hostility against Spain resulted in the queen’s dressing in the French or Italian styles, always according to political criteria.

The Armada Portrait (1588)

With regard to relations with Spain, the most relevant iconographic object is the portrait commemorating the defeat of the Armada (fig. 8).²⁰ Kevin Sharpe observes that even the dimensions and form of the canvas are unusual in the portraits of the queen, and that they serve to intensify the message of imperial power that the painting transmits: “The very size of the Armada Portrait immediately made claims to imperial triumph and expansiveness. This unusually large canvas, measuring 50 in. x 43 in., is

also, untypically, broader than it is high. Physically it represents the territorial reach of the authority of a queen who stands centered between two scenes visible over her shoulders" (381).

Owing to its theme of the defeat of the Armada, this portrait is the only one that has been well studied with regard to relations between Spain and England. In this portrait, the political interpretation with regard to Spain could not be more transparent: the queen is deliberately dressed in the French style (France being Spain's eternal enemy); her hand rests on the sphere of the world carefully oriented toward North America, since the colony of Virginia, named in her honor, was already in existence; the English fleet appears in the background to the left under a victorious sun; and the Spanish Armada is seen to be destroyed beneath the storm. The crown of England is strategically placed above the terrestrial globe, implying a future project of empire. As we will see in the Ditchley portrait, there is an implicit suggestion that the queen is capable of controlling the elements, the sun, and the storm that facilitate the English victory.

Nonetheless, despite the triumphalism of these portraits and their enormous symbolic charge regarding a burgeoning imperial domain, David Armitage sustains that Elizabeth herself had strong doubts and anxieties about the idea of empire:

The few fragments of evidence we do have suggest that Elizabeth's own idea of empire was indeed tinged with the sense of isolation, backwardness and anxiety felt by all but the most fulsomely flattering of her subjects. For example, her reaction upon being presented with the Huguenot cartographer Emery Molyneux's terrestrial globe in 1592 was reported as follows: "she was pleased to descant, the whole earth, a present for a Prince; but with the Spanish King's leave, she said, alluding to his Emblem, a Spanish Genet, in speed upon the Globe of the Earth, his fore-feet over-reaching, with this Motto, *Non sufficit orbis* [the world is not enough]." Her reaction indicated as much embattlement as defiance, as well as a reasonable assessment of England's chances of competing for geopolitical dominance with the Spanish Habsburgs.²¹

Thus, it is interesting to see that behind the triumphalism distilled in these royal portraits—that rather than announcing an imperial project, they seem to affirm the existence of a consolidated one—there existed a series of insecurities hidden within political propaganda.

The Ditchley Portrait (1592)

In the Ditchley Portrait (1592), a very large painting, Elizabeth is standing on the globe of the world and represents the sun with a sky that on one side of her monumental figure is sunny and on the other nocturnal and stormy (fig. 9). Elizabeth is represented as a cosmic force, as a being who dominates the earth and, like the sun, can award with her presence and punish with her absence, bringing in the night and darkness (a theme that already appears in the portrait of the Armada). The Ditchley Portrait presents us with connotations both cosmic and geographical that are to be read politically. I believe it can be associated with the affirmation that the sun never sets on the Spanish empire of Philip II. It is interesting how geographical space is represented in ways that are both complex and naïve: on the one hand the queen is situated at the top of the globe, of which only the upper part can be seen; and, at the same time, she stands on a disproportionately large map of England. In this painting are superimposed a naturalistic skyscape, the sun and the storm with a map that is inserted into the cosmic scene. Thus, two forms of spatial representation, one analogic and the other codified, are fused in an image of the queen intended to contribute to her cult and to her characterization as a powerful monarch.

In her analysis of this portrait, Deanne Williams explores the contrast between the big and the small through the rupture of scale between the figure of the queen and the map, and between the enormous size of her dress and the details of her fine little hands and feet:

Yet the overall effect of the portrait is not to make Elizabeth look large, but instead to flicker between the appearance of greatness and the appearance of smallness. Elizabeth's slim and delicate fingers, complete with ringed little finger, clutch a tiny fan. Her waist is minimised by a tight corset and



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lengthened with an inverted triangular stomacher, setting off the expansive sleeves and skirts. She is bedecked with dozens of diminutive pearls. Note also the tiny little feet that peep out from beneath Elizabeth's skirts. As the painting is saying that Elizabeth is great, it is also depicting her as somewhat overwhelmed. (71)

For Williams this strategy of representation illustrates the notion widely cultivated by the queen herself of the smallness inherent in the feminine gender in contrast with Elizabeth's formidable success and power as sovereign:

The Ditchley portrait enshrines the idea that it is necessary to protect what is little about the queen as well as to celebrate what is great. Elizabeth famously deploys this dialectic between great and small in her Tilbury speech, which plays upon the contrast between her small frame and the qualities of greatness that it contains: "I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king." Her writings make frequent reference to the idea of the smallness of woman; as she puts it, "being a woman by my nature weak, timid, and delicate, as are all women." She enjoys casting herself in the role of "maidservant" or "handmaid" to God. After the defeat of the Armada, Elizabeth expresses thanks that she, as "the weakest sex hath been so fortified by Thy strongest help that neither my people might find lack by my weakness nor foreigners triumph at my ruin."²²

In fact, it is very interesting how this portrait establishes a series of contrasts between the small and fragile, and the universal and cosmic, so as to emphasize the extraordinary character of Elizabeth's power as a monarch and her imperial aspirations.

Portrait of the English Naval Triumph in Cádiz in 1596

In the engraving commemorating the triumph of the English naval expedition to Cádiz in 1596, there are ships in the background, the sphere in

Fig. 9. (opposite) *Queen Elizabeth I (the Ditchley Portrait)*, Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (ca. 1592). © National Portrait Gallery, London.



Fig. 10. Engraving by Crispijn van de Passe, printed 1596.

Elizabeth's hand, and the two imperial columns support two of her symbols: the pelican that cuts open its breast in order to feed its offspring with blood, and the phoenix (fig. 10). This is yet another portrait that clearly expresses the imperial rivalry with Spain, and its theme is the celebration of the successful English naval expedition to Cádiz in 1596. Susan Doran interprets it succinctly:

Here the phoenix and pelican in piety sit on top of matching Corinthian columns, from which hang the dynastic emblems of the house of Tudor. At one level, the columns represent the straits of Gibraltar (known as the Pillars of Hercules) situated near Cadiz (the fortified town shown in the background of the print); indeed in a verse celebrating his victory at Cadiz, Essex was described, "Greater than Hercules he / came right to Hercules Pillars." At another level, however, the columns stand for the imperial and religious aspirations of the Spanish king over which Elizabeth and English Protestantism had prevailed. [. . .] Taken altogether, the engraving portrays the queen as an instrument of divine will, the scourge of Catholic Spain. (179)

This engraving is outstanding for its artistic quality and belongs to a genre with numerous examples that represent, with a wealth of imperial symbolism, the triumph of Protestant England over Catholic Spain.

The Hardwick portrait (1599)

The Hardwick portrait (1599) is unique in its treatment of the universalist theme because in it the queen has a bestiary embroidered on her skirt where sea monsters and the most pleasant creatures live in harmony among flowers and birds (fig. 11). Elizabeth is lady of the universe, not only of the sea, and on her own body she depicts a world in harmony. Giordano Bruno's *La cena delle ceneri* (The Ash Wednesday supper) (1583), in a passage cited by Julia Walker, writes about the theme of a queen who deserves much more land to rule over: "Of Elizabeth I speak, who by her title and royal dignity is inferior to no other monarch in the world [. . .]. If her earthly territory were a true reflection of the width and grandeur of



Fig. 11. *Elizabeth I, Hardwick Hall Portrait, unknown artist (1599).*

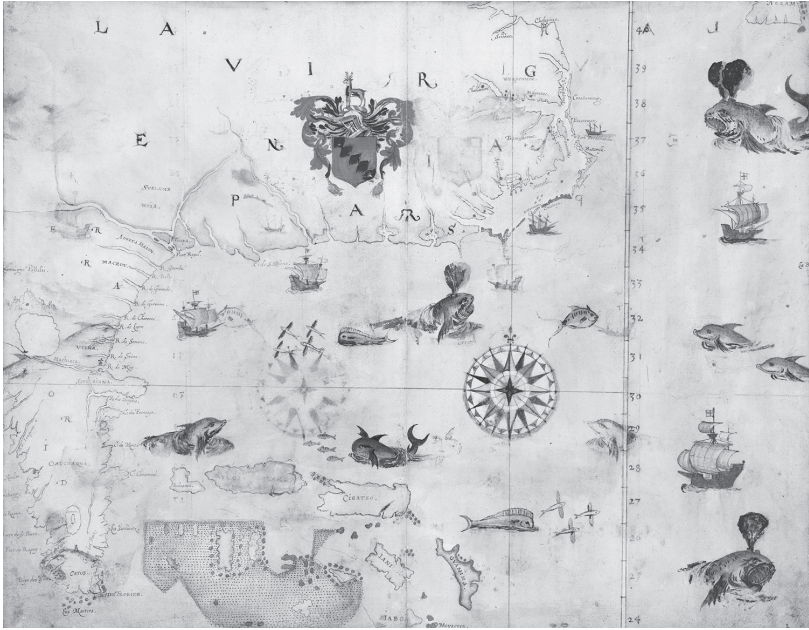


Fig. 12. *Virginea Pars* by John White, 1585. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

her spirit this great Amphitrite would bring far horizons within her girdle and enlarge the circumference of her dominion to include not only Britain and Ireland but some new world, as vast as the universal frame” (246). The allusion to the New World in this passage is very clear. In these portraits there is a total identification between Elizabeth and England: the queen’s body incarnates an ideal of empire forged in a national mythology that attempts to legitimate an imperial aspiration and searches, via symbolic strategies, for links that might establish her inalienable right to stand as virtual sovereign of the universe.

I believe that the inclusion on her dress of the combination of both flora and marine animals makes a political statement in an original way. The fact that these natural signs are inscribed on her body provides us with a symbolic dimension that goes far beyond the imperial motifs of the column, the scepter, or the sphere. The inclusion of marine animals

and plants refers in both cases to the conquest of American territories, and the two categories have different references.

In the case of the plants, the American colonies awakened an enormous interest because of the importation of countless new botanical species. As John Slater observes, Lope in his *Laurel de Apolo* (Apollo's Laurel) (1630) introduces a curious scene in which a ship appears in Seville bursting with "a thousand trees from the Indies" that appear like an exuberant floating garden (16). In effect, the general interest during this period in botany and the classification of plants was stimulated by the new imperial order since one form of real and symbolic appropriation of the new territories would materialize through the study and taxonomic ordering of new plants and animals. In this regard, in the sixteenth century various scientific works were written about the flora of the New World and the Philippines, such as the *Historia Medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales* (Medicinal history of things brought back from our West Indies) by Nicolás Monardes, whose three parts originally appeared between 1565 and 1574; the *Discurso de las cosas aromáticas, árboles y frutales [. . .] que se traen de la India Oriental* (Aromatic things, trees, fruits, and many other simple medicines that are brought over from the Eastern Indies) (1570) by Juan Fragoso; the *Historia de las plantas de la Nueva España* (History of the plants from New Spain) (written in 1577, published in 1671) by Francisco Hernández; and, above all, the *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Natural and moral history of the Indies) (1590) by José de Acosta.²³ The inclusion on the queen's dress of botanical motifs that look like illustrations from a naturalist study is a clear allusion to the American conquest.

As for the marine animals, the political allusion could hardly be clearer given the fact that they are modeled on the marine beasts that adorned the maps of the period. Wilma George explains that, as of antiquity, maps were accompanied by the illustration of animals: "Among the features of the physical environment important to man birds and beasts have commanded a special interest, as creatures closest to man, as a means of sustenance to him, if domesticated, a source of companionship; in the wild, a source of danger. Hence, when man began to depict the environment

in his drawings, animals were an inevitable feature of the scene" (18). Furthermore, she maintains that "the portrayal of new animals on maps sometimes led to later copying into the bestiaries and natural histories" (210). In this sense I have found clear connections between the marine animals on the queen's dress and those that appear on a map of vital importance for the imperial aspirations of England: John White's map "Virginea Pars" (1585) (fig. 12). It features an abundance of sea monsters, giant fish, dolphins, and whales almost identical to those on the garment. In this way the dress's embroidery does not simply depict flowers and fish but rather plants as they were represented in botanical treatises and fish inspired by a map that claimed England's first American possessions.

The Rainbow Portrait

Finally, we have the most fascinating portrait of all, the Rainbow Portrait, where Elizabeth, at the end of her life, is portrayed as young and victorious, projecting an image of triumph and eternal splendor (fig. 13).²⁴ This portrait attains the maximum expression of all the characteristics that we have seen in other portraits: symbols related to the cult of the queen, political allusions, youth, beauty, splendor, and an exquisite care with regard to how Elizabeth represents the myth of a kind of pagan goddess.²⁵ According to many testimonies, we know that Elizabeth in her portraits cultivated her own myth, but also in daily life she made an immense effort to appear to others as an almost supernatural figure, profusely adorned with an excess of jewels and extreme luxury. Janet Arnold demonstrates the enormous expense of her dresses and jewels, comparatively much more than that of any other queen of the period.²⁶ Arnold cites the description of the queen just before her death in 1603 by Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, Venetian secretary in England:

The Queen was clad in taffety of silver and white trimmed with gold; her dress was somewhat open in front and showed her throat encircled with pearls and rubies down to her breast. Her skirts were much fuller and began lower down than is the fashion in France. Her hair was of a light



Fig. 13. The *Rainbow Portrait of Queen Elizabeth*, unknown artist, (ca. 1600–1602). Courtesy Hatfield House.

colour never made by nature, and she wore great pearls like pears round the forehead; she had a coif arched round her head and an Imperial crown, and displayed a vast quantity of gems and pearls upon her person; even under her stomacher she was covered with golden jewelled girdles and single gems, carbuncles, balas-rubies, diamonds; round her wrists in place of bracelets she wore double rows of pearls of more than medium size. (12)

Significantly, Susan Vincent observes that fashion during Elizabeth's reign developed on a par with the growing intensity of the cult of the royal image. The last two decades of her reign were characterized by dresses ever more voluminous and adorned (37).²⁷ It seems, then, that the extremely elaborate image of the queen that we see in the portraits corresponded to her real presence, which consisted of a live staging of what appears in the paintings. This commitment to the symbolic, to the incessantly represented myth of herself, translates into a series of aesthetic choices that search for an almost ontological representation of royalty. In this radical process of mythification and control over her image, the queen's aversion toward Italian painting and toward the chiaroscuro and realism that the painters of the time were able to convey in their works is by no means surprising.²⁸ As Andrew and Catherine Belsey argue,

The image of the Queen became, we have suggested, progressively more geometrical, more heraldic, more remote from illusionism. Elizabeth I, after all, was not a subject but a sovereign [. . .]. Portraits of the Queen are a record not of her subjectivity but of her authority, wealth and greatness, the qualities that require absolute obedience. [. . .] The portraits of the Queen subdue her sexuality in order to proclaim her power, and in the process they place her outside the realm of nature. In these images Elizabeth escapes the constraints of time and space; she represents a superhuman transcendence; and finally she takes the place of God. (32–33)

In this sense, the Rainbow Portrait condenses in a single portrait the extremes reached by this cult of Elizabeth and serves as testament to a reign in which the sustained challenge to Spain is its major accomplishment.

Daniel Fischlin insightfully analyzes the political keys to this portrait that he believes have been ignored by other studies:²⁹

The portrait, no doubt, is a hybrid—aesthetic, religious, literary, and so forth—but it is a hybrid designed in such a way as to occlude the overt political significations that would have undermined it as political representation. [. . .] Those [allegorical] dimensions include the political insofar as the portrait comments on monarchic governance in the anxious, historical contexts of a sovereign who, without direct heirs, was near the end of a reign in which some measure of political stability, however illusory, had been achieved. (184)

In this portrait she identifies with the sun, thus usurping the symbol of the papacy and for once abandoning her usual identification with Diana, or Cynthia, the goddess of the moon. The inscription *non sine sole iris* refers to the peace enjoyed thanks to her, the sun. The eyes and ears of her mantle are not, as was believed, an allusion to Fame but a celebration of the English secret service that was, in effect, the envy of Europe. The Cecil brothers who commissioned the portrait were in charge of the espionage that ultimately kept England safe from Spain. This portrait celebrates the “English peace” despite the continuing hostilities with Spain over the course of decades. In his study of Elizabethan espionage, Stevan Dedjier demonstrates the political secrets hidden in this portrait by linking it directly to the success of the queen’s secret service that forestalled numerous assassination plots and anticipated the offensive of the Armada, thus preventing a Spanish victory. The Rainbow Portrait represents Elizabeth of almost 70 years in all her magnificence as she displays timeless beauty and embodies an imperial ideal through her identification with the sun. In this sense, Deanne Williams insists on the strong associations of this portrait with the notions of peace and God’s blessing on the English command of the world: “With the motto *NON SINE SOLE IRIS* (No rainbow without the sun) the portrait places Elizabeth as the source of this world-enveloping magic: the rainbow possesses associations with peace and divine communion as well as conveying the idea of global dominion, as the ends of the

rainbow connect one end of the world with the other.”³⁰ In sum, this is an iconographic testimony that attempts to document a reign whose success issued in part from its ability to define itself in a delicate balance between emulation and opposition with regard to the Spanish imperial model.

The Inverted Image of Spain

Although at the beginning of this chapter I mentioned the scant presence of Elizabethan England in Spanish literature of the period, I would like to finish this study by considering Cervantes’s portrait of Elizabeth in a work written shortly after her death, a portrayal that is to some extent consistent with the image of the queen represented in the portraits we have seen. In fact, there are two positive re-creations of the queen, as mentioned earlier: Coello’s *Conde de Sex*, which portrays a sensual and romanticized Elizabeth, well studied by María Cristina Quintero; and, above all, Cervantes’s Elizabeth I in “La española inglesa,” which offers us a portrait of Elizabeth through a transference with her namesake, the protagonist Isabela, as Eduardo Olid Guerrero has shown in his article on Machiavellianism. In effect, Isabela is luxuriously bedecked in order to be presented to the queen, who is seen here reflected in the dazzling image of the young woman: “And as she stood there alone, she seemed like a star or meteor from the fiery regions, that one sometimes sees moving across a serene and peaceful night sky; or, rather, like a beam of sunlight shining through between two mountains at break of day” (176).³¹

Later on, as Olid Guerrero points out, the monstrous image of the poisoned Isabela can also be likened to the defamatory portrait that Counter-Reformation propaganda construed of the queen (64). On the other hand, Marsha Collins observes how Cervantes deviates from the literary and political image in this exemplary novel and how Isabela is thus identified with the Virgin Mary, just as the image of Elizabeth possesses Marian reminiscences that connect with her personal cult.³²

I think it is interesting to see a text such as “La española inglesa” as a political reflection of the relations between England and Spain in light of the peace signed by James I. The series of parallelisms between the

queen Isabel and the protagonist Isabela, their identification and implicit political-religious antagonism throughout the novel, and the surprisingly portrayed historical background of Catholicism and Protestantism mixed with English piracy, invite us to analyze politically the influences and anxieties between two opposing nations, a theme that deserves further exploration. In sum, this text brings into play a counterpoint fraught with political reflection on the pictorial portraits of Elizabeth I that in turn evince a reflection of Spain as a hostile nation that is symbolically overcome by means of the emulation and appropriation of its symbols.

My aim in this study has been to explore the fundamental presence of Spain in the political model embodied by Queen Elizabeth I given that British historiography has paid almost no attention to it beyond a superficial acknowledgment of political and religious rivalry between the two nations. In effect, this presence is patently visible and evident in the iconographic portrayals of the queen that, as of 1583, would incorporate political meanings signifying imperial competition. We have thus seen how England looks into an inverted mirror of the Spanish empire and elaborates an iconographic strategy by means of the representation of its queen who incarnates in her own body the universalist ambitions of the English nation.

NOTES

1. Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*.
2. The works about England that do not focus on Elizabeth include significant examples, notably Calderón de la Barca's *Amor, honor y poder* (Love, honor, and power) (1623) which refers to Edward III of England (1312–77), and his *La cisma de Inglaterra* (The schism of England) (1627), which focuses on the rupture with Catholicism during the reign of Henry VIII. Another example is Diego de Ágreda y Vargas's short novel *Eduardo, rey de Inglaterra* (Edward, king of England) (1620).
3. Magdalena de Pazzis summarizes as follows the adverse portrayal of Elizabeth: "This collective endeavor had immediate effects. England was perceived as Spain's hostile enemy, while Elizabeth was seen as an impious queen—indeed, the very personification of evil. To Spanish eyes, Elizabeth appeared

as a frail and feminine woman who used her wiles when it suited her. Many of the epithets used to describe her were contradictory: she was untruthful, coquettish, vain, promiscuous, frivolous and spendthrift, wary and jealous, inconsistent in public affairs, cruel with those who betrayed her, indifferent to the suffering of others, sickly, highly strung and prone to frequent bouts of depression. Yet she was also hale and headstrong, haughty, proud, chaste, learned, faithful to her servants, tight-fisted, shrewd, firmly resolved to maintain her independence, and an indefatigable administrator. A key role in disseminating these ill-assorted representations was undoubtedly played by Counter-Reformation propaganda, which spread among Catholic countries the appalling image of a ruthless and schismatic Elizabeth" (25).

4. The editors of *La reina María Estuarda* (Queen Mary Stuart) (1670) emphasize the ideological influence of Lope in the portrait of the queen: "The strong anti-Protestant bias filters through and Diamante's Elizabeth (Isabel in the play) seems to possess most of the negative attributes found in Lope's prototype" (25).
5. Regarding Lope's literary recreation of Francis Drake and his historical character, see Elizabeth Wright.
6. "La honesta virgen, que este nombre injusto / lasciva pretendió, contrario efeto / al tiempo, a la verdad, al Cielo justo, / a quien oculto no ha de haber secreto; / la que rindió la majestad al gusto / a los ministros de su amor sujeto, no luna casta, en las mudanzas luna, / que aun no tuvo en querer firmeza alguna" (The honest virgin, who, lascivious, gave herself this unjust name. A name contrary to time, to truth, to the just heaven (for which there ought to be no secret); she who subordinated her majesty to pleasure, she who subjected her ministers to her love. She is no chaste moon, but a moon in her changes, who yet had no constancy in love) (ch. 5, vv. 49–56, pp. 440–41). He also devotes an epitaph to her in his *Rimas* (Rhymes) (1604): "*De Isabela de Ingalaterra / Aquí yace Jezabel, aquí la nueva Atalía, / del oro antártico arpía, / del mar incendio cruel; / aquí el ingenio más digno / de loor que ha tenido el suelo, si para llegar al cielo / no hubiera errado el camino*" ("Epitaph for Elizabeth of England." Here lies Jezebel, here lies the new Atalia, harpy of Antarctic gold, a cruel fire of the sea; here lies the wit most worthy of praise in the world, if to get to heaven she hadn't lost her way.) (no. 265, vv. 1–8).
7. With regard to early modern English translations of Spanish plays, see Jorge Braga Riera.

8. Barbara Fuchs does indeed recognize the fundamental importance of Spain in the political project that England developed during the reign of Elizabeth I and refers to a tendency to emulate the power of Spain reflected in Spanish influence in the literary domain: "Traditional literary history has managed neither wholly to insert Spain into English studies, nor convincingly to explain the ongoing disavowal of Spain in the field. As I argue here, the reason is twofold. First, the English turn to Spain appears paradoxical, given the religious and political enmity between the two nations. Second, and more important, the early modern English rivalry with Spain has largely colored our own cultural and intellectual histories, limiting our view of the Spanish connection. The challenge lies in recognizing that the often vociferous rhetorical denunciation of Spain in the period and beyond did not impede literary traffic. Certainly, the increasing acrimony between the two nations, which came to a head with the attempted invasion by the Spanish Armada in 1588, raised the stakes for the English *imitatio* of Spain, placing literary transmission in a fundamental tension with religious and political conflicts, never fully resolved even when James declared peace with Spain in 1604. Yet transmission there was, from translation, to reelaboration, to occasional citation—all versions of a sustained fascination with Spanish matter" (4).
9. Ramiro de Maeztu calls attention to this almost chronic tendency to relegate the study of Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to a series of platitudes about the Inquisition, religious fanaticism, intolerance, et cetera, thus impeding in general terms a nuanced comprehension of the role of Spain in the history of the early modern period.
10. See in this regard Susan Frye's monograph *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation*, which explores through gender studies the ways in which Elizabeth's image was constructed in contrast to notions about women during that epoch.
11. The edited volume *Goddesses and Queens: The Iconography of Elizabeth I* (edited by Annaliese Connolly and Lisa Hopkins) studies from different perspectives the relationship between the iconography of Elizabeth and its political, religious, and mythical projection.
12. "The cult of Gloriana was skilfully created to buttress public order and, even more, deliberately to replace the pre-Reformation externals of religion, the cult of the Virgin and saints with their attendant images, processions, ceremonies and secular rejoicing" (*The Cult of Elizabeth*, 16).

13. Frances Yates cites the prologue of Thomas Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* (1599), in which two men are about to present themselves to the queen: "—Are you then travelling to the temple of Eliza?—Even to her temple are my feeble limbs travelling. Some call her Pandora, some Gloriana, some Cynthia, some Belpheobe, some Astrea, all by several names to express several loves. Yet all those names make but one celestial body, as all those loves meet to create but one soul.—I am of her own country, and we adore her by the name Eliza" (29).
14. Ricardo Padrón summarizes perfectly the immense proportions of universal power that the Spanish empire attained under Philip II. The relation between the Spanish model and the imperial yearning of English is quite apparent: "In the space of a few generations, the Catholic Kings and their Hapsburg successors had completed the centuries-old project of expelling Islam from the Iberian Peninsula, had asserted Iberian sovereignty over much of the Low Countries and much of Italy, had frustrated the ambitions of the French and the Ottomans, and had extended themselves into the New World. Much of this occurred during the reign of Charles V, King of Castile and Aragon and Holy Roman Emperor, the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella. His ascendancy was resented by many, but it was also celebrated by others, both in Spain and beyond, who saw in him the return of imperial glories not seen since the days of Rome. During Cervantes's lifetime, Charles's son, Philip II, managed to add the kingdom of Portugal, with its colonies in Africa and Asia, to the vast inheritance left by his father, making him monarch of the first-ever empire upon which the sun never set" (2).
15. Frances Yates explains the importance of this text as a cornerstone of the imperial project: "Dee's *General and Rare Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* was the only one published (in 1577, he wrote it in 1576) of a series of volumes which he planned should be an exposition of, and plea for, Elizabethan imperialism. (The idea of the work as a whole was that it should be a 'Hexameron or Plat Politicall of the Brytish Monarchie.') It consisted partly of practical tables for the use of mariners, but the theoretical pages of the work are interlarded with impassioned pleas for the establishment of a strong navy both to defend the country and to aid expansion. The learned man brings the most varied historical arguments to bear upon his theme, of how to maintain and increase the 'Royal Maiesty and Imperial Dignity of our Souerayn Lady Elizabeth.' The tale of the lands and seas to which she can lay claim is based both on the dominions mythically reported to have been held

by the British King Arthur and on those over which the Saxon King Edgar ruled. The Roman Pompey and the Greek Pericles are quoted with approval for their views on the importance of sea sovereignty” (48).

16. As Roy Strong affirms in his commentary on this foundational text about the ideological and symbolic conception of the British empire: “Dee defended the Trojan descent of the Tudor dynasty and was also a vigorous advocate of King Arthur, extending his imperial dominions even beyond those generally accepted by contemporaries. [...] Elizabeth took an ardent interest, consulting Dee both in 1577 and in 1580 on her legal claims to other countries, that is precisely during the years that the first of the ‘imperial’ portraits were painted. [...] With Dee we are at the fount of the images which were to dominate the cult of Elizabeth as it began to be created and intensified” (*Gloriana*, 92–93).
17. Marino, “Invention of Europe,” 155.
18. According to Ricardo Padrón, Philip II was a king who understood the vital importance of maps as practical instruments but also as mighty symbolic devices of power. Paradoxically, the Hapsburgs “guarded their advanced geographical knowledge from international rivals by prohibiting their maps from appearing in print” (8–9).
19. Williams, “Elizabeth I,” 74.
20. In his article, “Queen Elizabeth and the Myth of Sea-power in English History,” N. A. M. Rodger highlights the “English ‘national myth’ of sea-power, based on the folk-memory of the Elizabethan naval war, which powerfully shaped public attitudes and political choices throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This myth associated true, patriotic and ever-victorious English sea-power with political liberty, financial profit and, above all, Protestantism” (153).
21. Armitage, “The Elizabethan Idea,” 276.
22. Williams, “Elizabeth I,” 71.
23. On the botanical studies of the East and West Indies during the sixteenth century, see Carmen Añón and José Luis Sancho (289–304).
24. Susan Frye explains that the iconographic representation of the queen as eternally young was associated with the exercise of chastity: “Although Elizabeth frequently admitted the consequences of her aging, her iconographic response to the fear of premature burial was to claim herself ageless. The inherent claim was that her active virtue, so often particularized as her virginity or chastity, protected Elizabeth from the normal aging process, helping preserve her metaphoric fertility in the guise of a continuing physical fertility. Her represented

denial of old age was an assertion of her political viability, an attempt to transcend her society's tendency to disparage and ignore any woman past childbearing age without, however, challenging that prejudice" (100).

25. For a detailed analysis of the religious symbolism of this portrait, see René Graziani, "The 'Rainbow Portrait' of Queen Elizabeth I and its Religious Symbolism."
26. Arnold, *The Queen*, 1.
27. Regarding the tastes and preferences of Elizabeth with respect to fashion, see May-Shine Lin, "Queen Elizabeth's Language."
28. On Elizabeth's tastes and her influence on the portraiture of her times, see David Piper, *English Face*. 56–86, and David Howarth, *Images of Rule*, his chapter on the portraits of the Tudors, 77–119.
29. In his exhaustive critique of interpretations of the portrait, he insists on a political reading, basing himself above all on iconographic sources such as emblems and the work of Cesare Ripa. Nonetheless, like so many other studies, his political reading eludes any commentary with respect to hostilities toward Spain.
30. Williams, "Elizabeth I," 74.
31. "y como [Isabela] quedó sola, pareció lo mismo que parece la estrella o exalación que por la región del fuego en serena y sosegada noche suele moverse, o bien así como rayo del sol que al salir del día por entre dos montañas se descubre" (1: 249).
32. As Marsha Collins affirms, "The substitution of moral for political correctness emerges most strikingly in the presentation of Queen Elizabeth I. Rather than the evil foil, wicked witch, or at the very least, the powerful adversary Spanish readers might expect, Cervantes gracefully executes some literary sleight of hand to transform the monarch into a fairy godmother. The English sovereign tests, aids, and rewards the hero and the heroine, inadvertently (in the human, but not the divine sense) putting in motion the forces that will eventually reunite the protagonists in Spain under the auspices of the Catholic Church. Like her young Spanish double, she becomes a Marian figure, a fictional realization of her popular image as the Virgin Queen" (64–65).

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PART 2

Visual and Literary Images
of the *Jezabel del Norte*

CHAPTER 5

In Search of Elizabeth I

Visual Representations of the Virgin Queen in Early Modern Spanish Sources

CLAUDIA MESA HIGUERA

From the *Coronation Portrait* (1559) of Elizabeth I, to the impressive 1588 rendition of the English victory over the Spanish fleet, visual representations of the Virgin Queen populate the imaginary of the Elizabethan period and beyond.¹ In the Spanish context, however, these representations are less abundant, despite the ongoing interaction that took place between the two nations before and after the Spanish Armada ventured across the English Channel. Aside from the engravings that are included in various editions of Bentivoglio's Spanish translation of *Las guerras de Flandes* (The wars of Flanders) (1687), images of Gloriana produced in Spain and for Spanish audiences are not easy to locate.² It is known, however, that oil paintings and elaborate miniatures of Elizabeth circulated in diplomatic circles as gifts, and that portraits of Gloriana were part of royal collections from France and Germany to Austria, Florence, Brussels, and Scotland.³ The Spanish aristocracy in particular was familiar with her physical appearance; in some instances, images of Gloriana had a place in portrait galleries devoted to members of the nobility and the military.⁴ In a 1594 letter to the Marquis of Velada, Don Juan de Silva, Count of Pontealegre, minister and diplomat to Philip II, recounts a humorous incident about one of those portraits. He explains that in the darkness of his chamber in Lisbon, a high-ranking Milanese official confused a portrait of Elizabeth with that of a Catholic saint. To the count's delight, the

official committed idolatry, praying and kneeling before her. She “must be a saint,” wrote Don Juan, “but the figure that appears in the portrait is far from being so.”⁵ The previous anecdote is emblematic of the present study: on the one hand, it hints at the existence of critical images of Gloriana within the Spanish tradition, and on the other, it exposes the difficulty of finding them. To the best of my knowledge, such a non-saintly portrait has not yet been located.

This chapter investigates the circumstances surrounding the relative absence of negative pictorial representations of Elizabeth I Tudor in early modern Spanish sources. The perplexing scarcity of images of the Virgin Queen within the Spanish tradition and the open-ended questions that arise from the study of these images are at the core of my inquiry. While I do not claim that these images did not exist or cannot be found, they appear to be absent from the ubiquitous pictorial imaginary surrounding the queen in other national contexts. In my attempt to address this iconographical disparity, I examine a few telling examples that portray Elizabeth in relation to Spain as an empire, its rulers, and its subjects. These examples include a “fair paper” accompanied by poems and other devices directed to the queen by the students of the English School in Seville (1593), a collection of medals associated with Elizabeth and minted in the Low Countries between the Siege of Antwerp and the defeat of the Armada (1584–1588), a wood carving of the third Duke of Alba spearing the Virgin Queen together with other enemies of the Hapsburg Empire (ca. 1570), and an apparently traditional engraving of Elizabeth in which an anonymous author writes an inscription that defames the recently deceased monarch (ca. 1604). Although these images constitute effective mass communication tools in the service of competing sides (Spain, England, the Low Countries, and France) and interests (religious, political, and economic), they only partially clarify the question of Elizabethan iconography associated with Spain and suggest a gap that needs to be addressed in future investigation and scholarship.

As international relations between Spain and England intensified, the public image of Elizabeth with her many peculiarities incited hostile

rhetoric among prominent Spanish writers and intellectuals. With the notable exception of Cervantes in *La española inglesa* (The Spanish-English lady) (1613), and to some extent in Antonio Coello's *El conde de Sex* (The Earl of Essex) (1638), the majority of written accounts suggest that in Spain the name of Gloriana was connected to the notion of an emerging Protestant state, sustained by pirates and led by a peculiar female figure.⁶ In the "Canción de la Armada que fue a Inglaterra" (Armada song) (1588), Luis de Góngora refers to Elizabeth as a promiscuous woman barely capable of ruling the state: "with her hand occupied / with the spindle instead of the scepter and sword; / woman of many, and of many daughter-in-law, / oh inept Queen, no Queen really but she-wolf, / lustful and fierce."⁷ Lope de Vega writes equally disdainful verses that emphasize Elizabeth's association with Francis Drake. In *La Dragontea* (1598), for example, he invites the reader to "look at Medea, the Queen of the Dragon that strolls the coasts of America."⁸ Later in *Corona trágica* (Tragic crown) (1627), a poem written in defense of Mary Queen of Scots, Lope brings back Elizabeth's origins as an illegitimate child to conclude that she did not dare to marry or give birth for fear of losing England to a dubious line of succession.⁹

In the same way that emblematic programs and other forms of visual imagination were used in the Americas for the purposes of political dominance and religious indoctrination, the ekphrastic quality imbedded in the written accounts of Elizabeth held the potential to move the masses and to advance Spain's ideological interests.¹⁰ However, contrary to the written accounts, on a pictorial level the Virgin Queen appears to be less prone to public defamation. Moreover, judging from the examples mentioned above, written portraits of Elizabeth lacked complexity and focused mainly on her alleged weaknesses as a woman and on the controversial nature of her birth. During the course of my research I had assumed that if vicious verbal portraits of Elizabeth have survived, it is likely that visual counterparts must exist as well. But why are they missing? Were they purposely or accidentally destroyed? How could such a long tradition of scholarship have overlooked this particular aspect of Elizabethan iconography given Spain's central place in English foreign policy? Was the

ongoing policy of censorship toward the making of royal images in England successfully enforced abroad? While the strict regulations surrounding the production of Elizabethan iconography offer some insight into the previous questions, they do not fully explain the puzzling unavailability of indecorous images in Spanish sources.

It is well known that in England depictions of Gloriana were influenced by Sir William Cecil's draft proclamation that intended to regulate the production, quality, and circulation of the royal image.¹¹ Preserved in the State Papers, the proclamation banned production of the queen's portrait until "her Majesty" approved the work of "some special person" after which all painters and engravers shall thereafter model their work.¹² The proclamation stated that the reason behind the policy was the grievance felt by her "loving subjects" who took "great offence with the errors and deformities already committed by sondry persons on this behalf [i.e., royal portraiture]."¹³ As a result, the queen "straightly chargeth all hir officers and ministers to see the observation hereof, and as soon as maybe to reform the errors already committed, and in the meantyme to forbydd and prohibit the showing and publication of such as are apparently deformed until they are reformed which are reformable."¹⁴ It is not clear if the queen appointed someone immediately to create a model drawing to prevent the production of "deformed" images.¹⁵ However, judging from contemporary accounts and further petitions to shape and control the royal image, the unauthorized reproduction of Elizabeth's public persona preoccupied not only the queen but also court officials and artists both in England and abroad.¹⁶

In spite of the mechanisms implemented to curb and influence the reproductions of royal likenesses, an undignified fragment of a forged coin of Elizabeth depicted as a grotesque old woman, currently located at the British Museum, illustrates both the production of indecorous images and the deliberate attempt to make them vanish quickly afterward. The exact nature of this attack is uncertain, although it could have been political satire, religious hostility, a reminder of the queen's narcissism, or just plain naughty behavior on the coin maker's part. The curator's note explains that what is left of the coin is indeed a "genuine gold pound" that



Fig. 14. *Gold Forgery: Elizabeth I as a Hag, 1597–1600.* © The Trustees of the British Museum.

has been altered “to depict her as an old hag and purporting to have been defaced by her in a fury.”¹⁷ In 1742, more than a century later, Walpole reports that after the queen’s order, the original die was destroyed and that it was commonly accepted that a workman at the mint took on the task of cutting the coin in a way that one could only see the face (93–94). This attempt to reproduce a debased gold pound of the queen, together with other examples of corrupted images including a doodle, hidden in the margins of an unpublished manuscript, of Elizabeth as a deformed vanity bird, stand out as subversive yet intimately creative expressions of English dissent toward their own monarch.¹⁸

Although anti-Elizabeth propaganda seemed to be part of everyday life abroad, in contrast to the English context, actual visual artifacts are not easily available despite being alluded to in correspondence and news communications of the time. Both Roy Strong and Louis Montrose discuss an intriguing epistolary exchange that reveals the subtleties and complexities involved in the protocols of royal representation outside England. On November 17, 1583, Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador to France, reported to his friend Walsingham that in Paris, French Catholics posted obscene pictures of Elizabeth and Anjou, which to Stafford’s great relief were quickly suppressed:

Last Monday, a foul picture of the Queen was set up here, she being on horseback, her left hand holding the bridle, with her right hand pulling up her clothes; upon her head written *La reine d’Angleterre*; verses underneath signifying that if any Englishman passed that way, he could tell what and whose the picture was. Under it was a picture of *Monsieur*, very well drawn, in his best apparel, on his fist a hawk, “which continually baited and could never make her sit still.”¹⁹

The existence of this vivid portrait of the queen and Anjou was contradicted only two days later in a postscript. In the postscript, Stafford takes back his words by explaining that when he first wrote the letter he had only heard the rumors about the pictures but had not actually seen them: “Now I have had a sight of [the pictures], there is nothing to the

dishonour of the Queen, their meaning having been greatly mistaken by them that reported on them to me.”²⁰ Whether or not the pictures actually existed, or whether he just spoke too soon or too honestly on such a sensitive matter, his initial account suggests that in fact there was enough negative press associated with the queen that stories about her could be heard on the streets of Paris. Both the forged coin and Stafford’s perplexing account constitute critical instances that undermine Elizabeth’s efforts to self-fashion her image and the official policy that sustained her efforts in England and the rest of Europe.

The next example stands in closer relation to Spain, since it appears in relation to one of the colleges for English Catholic priests founded in Valladolid and Seville in 1589 and 1592, respectively.²¹ Robert Persons, S. J., a vocal English expatriate and notorious Hispanophile among his fellow citizens, mentions in his *Newes from Spayne and Holland* (1593) the existence of a “fayre paper set up . . . in [the] English Colledge [in Seville] emongst other poems, and learned devices” (11v) that offers, as Highley has argued, a satirical commentary on Tudor Politics (180–81). Although the iconographical program contained in the paper articulates an attempt by the English students to criticize the queen during the celebration of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the nature of this criticism only indirectly transgresses the limits of royal decorum by focusing on Elizabeth’s policies within the Tudor dynasty but not on her royal image.²²

“The triumph of S. Thomas of Canterbury over two king Henryes of England” consisted of a series of panels that, in a cartoon-like fashion and not without irony, depict what Persons understands as the “antithesis or contrary proceedings of two King Henries of England” (11v) toward St. Thomas of Canterbury. It is known that in spite of Henry II’s initial friendship with St. Thomas, at some point during his reign the king engaged in persecution of the saint because of his resistance to embracing his policies.²³ After St. Thomas was brutally murdered by four French knights and their men on the steps of his church, with his brains spilled on the pavement, Henry II showed regret and went on to make public penance for his wrongdoings.²⁴ A hundred years later, in contrast, Henry

VIII, instead of honoring St. Thomas, “cited and condemned him and destroyed his sepulcre which the other had built up and many kings after him richly adorned.”²⁵ According to Herbert Thurston, the story regarding the dealings of Henry VIII with St. Thomas is most likely apocryphal.²⁶ Nonetheless, as Persons’s account shows, the English students in Seville brought up the supposed actions of the king to offer a critical stance toward Elizabeth I, their current ruler.

Although the actual paper is not included in the *Newes from Spayne and Holland*, Persons recalls that the “devise was witty and the paper pleasant to behold” (11v), so much so, he added, that it “drew many to looke upon it, and to take out coppies therof and by this tyme I think it to be engraved and printed” (11v).²⁷ Four scenes or “rancks” tell the story aided by Latin inscriptions. On the first rank are the two kings. On the right-hand side, Henry II is shown “armed and angry and striking at S. Thomas that was paynted before him” (12r). On the left, Henry VIII stands “very fatt and furious” (12r) before the lying body of the martyr. On the second rank, Henry II, regretful for his past behavior, is represented “leane and repentant, barefooted kneeling on his knees, and whipping himself severely before the said sepulcre” (12r), while on the other side Henry VIII emerges “more fatt and monstrous [than] before sweating and chaffing and in great fury digging downe the sepulcre with a pickaxe” (12r).²⁸ On the third rank, Elizabeth becomes part of the composition: placed between the two Henrys, she is asked to choose between the two traditions of the Tudor dynasty by reflecting on the posthumous fate of her predecessors: “Angels and garlands” await Henry II in heaven; “devils with instruments of torments” (12v) await Henry VIII at the gates of hell. The inscription written under the scene makes the English students’ request clear: “*E duobus elige*, choose which you wil of thes two” (12v). The forth rank depicts two students from the English school in Seville, offering “Each of them six verses in Latin to Queen Elizabeth for explication of their meaning” (12v).

In contrast to the portrayal of the two Henrys—the first “leane and repentant . . . whipping himself severely,” the second one “fatt and

monstrous . . . sweating and chaffing and in great fury”—the actual representation of Elizabeth, her personal being, is not subject to ridicule. Instead, the whole sequence constitutes, as Highley has suggested, a reevaluation of Elizabethan policies and her emphasis on continuing with the legacy of her Protestant father (181). While the sins of Henry II have been to some extent rectified by his later actions, the conduct of Henry VIII and his alleged persecution of the saint are clear indications of his imprudent behavior and lack of sound judgment. According to Highley, “The satirical indignity of the unflattering image of Henry VIII’s corpulent body and disordered mind is consistent with other negative representations of the king by Catholic polemicists like Nicholas Sander” (181). In this iconographical program, *Elizabetha Henricorum filia* (Elizabeth daughter of the Henrys) (12v) appears compromised because of the sins of her forefathers, but her outward appearance is spared from an overt form of indecency, unlike the representation of her predecessors—in particular, of her own father.

According to Persons’ *Newes*, the images produced by the English students in Seville portray Queen Elizabeth as pensive and “beholding sadly the one and the other example” (12v). However, the personification of Elizabeth unhappily observing the example of her ancestors appears to be out of character. This “weak and feeble woman,” as Elizabeth referred to herself before her troops at Tilbury, had already defeated the Spanish Armada by the time the *Newes* was reported. In her speech she draws on her position as the daughter of Henry VIII to justify herself before the English army: “I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too.”²⁹ The force of Elizabeth’s speech—her appeal to the powerful figure of her father—is then at the center of the satire, but in this specific case, the notion of royal decorum has not been entirely outweighed by the ideological nature of the iconographic program found in the English college in Seville.

Another aspect to consider in relation to the difficulty of finding visual negative representations of Gloriana in the Spanish context is what could be perceived as a bias regarding depictions of Elizabeth in secondary sources. Aside from recognizing the misogyny and religious intolerance

connected to Elizabeth's representation, canonical scholarship in history, literature, and art history emphasizes the study of the many virtues and great accomplishments of Gloriana but leaves out what Julia Walker characterizes as a "contrasting rhetoric of dissent, criticism, and disrespect which permeated all aspects of Elizabeth's life, reign, and posthumous representation" (1). Walker writes that it was not until the end of the 1980s that new historicist scholars began to challenge the seminal studies by Frances Yates, Roy Strong, and J. E. Neale, whose deliberate focus was to advance a critical paradigm that celebrated "many of the elements that made Gloriana's court spectacular" (3). While recognizing the significance of their work, Walker shows the need to shift the criticism surrounding the "Cult of Elizabeth" toward a subtler, more nuanced evaluation of texts and artifacts. Since the publication of Walker's edited volume *Dissing Elizabeth* (1998), Elizabethan scholarship has grown in volume, scope, and purpose. Yet, in the many volumes devoted to the Virgin Queen, the ugly portraits of Elizabeth referred to in Stafford's correspondence are still to be located and studied. From the Spanish perspective it is not clear whether there is indeed a critical bias, or if the texts and artifacts that would sustain a more robust iconographical discourse are lost or have disappeared. I propose to begin to address this gap through the examination of images produced in the Low Countries that engage in a dialogue with Spain's individual subjects and state policies.

In "Policy in Pictures," Louis Montrose argues that, toward the end of the sixteenth century, satirical images of the queen abroad constitute persuasive tools that helped shape state policy (132). For Montrose, the mention of the memorable image in which Elizabeth was supposedly depicted on horseback pulling up her clothes, as well as two other allegorical oil panels, reveal a series of peculiar circumstances that the Seventeen Provinces of the Low Countries had to face and that allowed for the creation of such images. He writes: "In addition to being collectively a site of convergence of Spanish, English and French strategic interests, [the Provinces] were also divided among themselves in terms of their particular traditions, leadership, loyalties, and aspirations, and



Fig. 15. *The Dairy Cow*, unknown artist, ca. 1583. Oil on Panel. Left to right: Elizabeth I, Philip II, William of Orange (*below*), and the duc d'Anjou. Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, R. T., Baron van Pallandt van Eerde Bequest.

were individually driven by sectarian strife" (132).³⁰ These two panels not only focus on the portrayal of Elizabeth maternally feeding the cow of the Netherlands and Philip II recklessly riding it; they also project the international dimension of the conflict through the inclusion of other key political figures represented in symbolic and dynamic relationships.

For María Rodríguez Salgado, the 1583 allegorical panel is characteristic of "pro-English radical Protestants in the Netherlands."³¹ It satirically displays the Dutch Protestant Prince William of Orange patiently milking a cow while the smiling French duc d'Anjou, one of Elizabeth's late suitors, gets his hand soiled while holding its tail. In this composition, Elizabeth supplies food to the animal while six Dutch men stand in the background. In contrast to the composed queen, Philip II aimlessly waves his arms, holding a scepter in one hand and a mace of command in the



Fig. 16. *Queen Elizabeth Feeds the Dutch Cow*, unknown artist, ca. 1584–86. Oil on panel. Left to right: The duc d'Anjou, Philip II, the Duke of Alba (seated), William of Orange, and Elizabeth I. Private collection.

other. The top of the composition exhibits three separate inscriptions; each offers a commentary on the personalities represented in the panel. The one in the upper left-hand corner refers to Philip II: “Not Longe Time Since I Sawe A Cowe. / Did Flavnders Represente / Vpon Whose Backe Kinge Phillip Rode / As Being Malecontnt.” The adjective “malcontent” is a play on words. It echoes the Catholic Walloon troops, known as the Malcontents, who in 1578 stood against the Pacification of Ghent and revived the struggle against the Protestants (117).

In the 1584–86 panel with the same subject, Philip II, dressed in his characteristic black clothes, is also portrayed on top of the cow, but his attitude is noticeably more composed than in the previous image. This print introduces a new figure: Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, the feared Duke of Alba and commander of Spain in the Low Countries, who takes

the place of Orange in the task of milking the cow. William of Orange now holds the animal by its horns as he turns his face to the queen who gently extends her hand to feed the cow.

The Low Countries became part of imperial Spain in 1519 when Charles V inherited the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands, or Burgundian Netherlands, from his father Philip I (or the Fair) in 1506.³² By 1555, when Charles V abdicated and Philip II became king, there was already considerable unrest in the Provinces due to religious intolerance, heavy taxation, the loss of legal aristocratic privileges, and the unwanted presence of Spanish troops in their territories.³³ Because of this political turmoil, the Seventeen Provinces were soon divided between the Dutch rebel provinces of the North, which had become Calvinist, and the Catholic Southern Provinces established in what is now Belgium and Luxembourg.³⁴ In 1566, the Northern Provinces initiated the first rebellion, and a year later Philip II sent the Duke of Alba to Flanders to suppress it. Margaret of Parma (1522–86), the king's sister and regent of the Spanish Netherlands, asked Philip II to revoke his orders and to recall Alba. The presence of the Spaniards in the Netherlands would not only increase the disturbances but also further antagonize the population already familiar with the duke's reputation for cruelty acquired during previous military campaigns in Tunis, Italy, Provence, and Ghent. "Hombres muertos no hazen Guerra" (dead men make no war), the duke used to say to the Holy Roman Emperor when he was in his service.³⁵ After six painful years, Alba's mission to control the revolt proved to be unsuccessful. The king recalled Alba, and in 1573 Luis de Requesens was appointed governor-general of the Low Countries.³⁶ In spite of Spain's efforts to control the insurgency, in 1581 the United Seven Provinces proclaimed their autonomy and deposed Philip II as their ruler with an Act of Abjuration. Still, the rebel provinces technically remained part of Imperial Spain until 1648 when the Eighty Years' War ended and Philip IV (1605–65) officially recognized their independence.³⁷

As stated before, the notion of converging and competing interests that play out in the Low Countries via pictorial representations is also present in a series of medals portraying the English Queen and included in Gerard

van Loon's monumental *Histoire métallique des XVII Provinces des Pays-Bas* (1732).³⁸ The international dimension of the conflict between Spain and the Low Countries questions the local specificity of these images as exclusively Spanish. When it comes to the subject of Elizabeth, the "coded iconic message" of these images is not necessarily aligned with the tropes that characterized Counter-Reformation propaganda under Philip II.³⁹ If Counter-Reformation imagery often portrayed the Spanish Monarch as the champion of the Catholic faith who by divine intervention was entrusted with the creation of a Christian Republic against heresy, Elizabeth I, as the head of the Protestant Church, could have been "depicted as the Jezebel of the North, the scourge of Catholic martyrs," as Roy Strong assumes.⁴⁰ However, conceived from the outskirts of the empire, these metal artifacts create a parallel narrative that, instead of degrading the image of Elizabeth as a vain and ruthless heretic, offer a critical comment on Spain, its monarchy, and its policies in the Netherlands.

The iconography of sixteenth and seventeenth century numismatics is often aligned with the interests of the state. In this respect it stands as an enduring symbol of self-promotion and representation. Already in 1646, Henri Estienne wrote a comprehensive treatise on the art of making devices in which he states that medals differ in purpose from devices "in that their scope was but to immortalize the memory of Emperors, Consuls, and Republics, setting forth, as in a Tablet, their most heroic actions and hopes, as being found that the memory of them would continue longer in brass, silver, and gold, than in Histories written upon paper" (19).⁴¹ Fernando Rodríguez de la Flor remarks on the "mute loquacity" (302) of the numismatic medium in which the brief, perennial surface of the medal has the capacity to project and promote state programs and political agendas (301–2). Similarly, José María de Francisco Olmos has shown that Isabel of Castile used coins as tools to gain political support, reiterate her legitimate right of succession (40–41), and celebrate her own accomplishments (107).

Although Elizabeth's numismatic representation in the Low Countries displays comparable objectives as the ones mentioned above, the direct

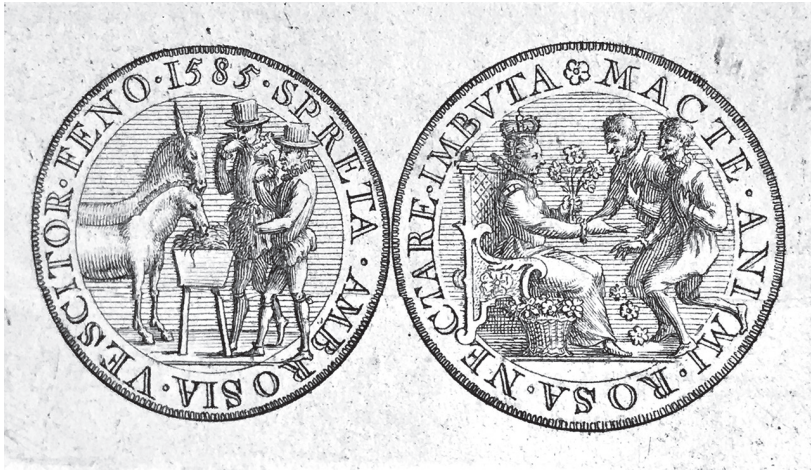


Fig. 17. Medallionic engraving of Elizabeth I offering Tudor roses to the deputies of the United Provinces. *Obverse side:* "Macte. Animi. Rosa. Nectare. Imbvta." *Reverse Side:* "Spreta. Ambrosia. Vescitor. Feno. 1585." From Gerard van Loon, *Histoire métallique des XVII Provinces des Pays-Bas* (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid).

correlation between state policy and official imagery seems subverted and more dynamic for two reasons: first, because these particular artifacts are conceived from the margins and not from the center of the empire; and second because not only the supporters of the *status quo* but also the rebels are engaged in the production and dissemination of coins and medals. This situation is further complicated by the fact that Elizabeth's role in the revolt of the Netherlands oscillated between supporting the rebels with money and troops while secretly trying to establish peace negotiations with Parma to secure peace with Spain from 1586 to 1588.⁴² On more than one occasion, Elizabeth stated that she had no intention of controlling the Netherlands, yet her constant shifts in policy created mistrust among the Dutch rebels who, "confronted with proposals to end their substantial independence and reintroduce Catholicism as the official religion [. . .] concluded that Elizabeth intended to abandon them; perhaps even betray them in order to avert Philip's wrath against England" (111). Despite the feeling of discontent that the rebels might

have had, the medals of Elizabeth minted in Holland between 1585 and 1588 can be interpreted in the context of the Dutch revolt and the need of the rebels to find strong allies to assist their cause by means of powerful political alliances.

Supporters of the rebellion probably commissioned the medals, although most have no specific names associated with them. The medals show different stages and nuances of the conflict through specific iconographical details. For example, the obverse side of a satirical 1585 copper piece, now at the Museo Naval in Madrid, shows Queen Elizabeth in profile seated on a throne. With a symbolic gesture, the queen offers Tudor roses to the deputies of the United Provinces to indicate the help that they are about to receive.⁴³ The legend reads, “Macte. Animi. Rosa. Nectare. Imbvta” (Be encouraged, the rose is full with nectar).⁴⁴ On the reverse side, a donkey and a horse (exemplifying the cities of Antwerp and Nijmegen, respectively), share the straw in a manger with two Spanish gentlemen. The human figures represent the Spanish king and the Duke of Parma. The legend ironically comments on the current state of the cities under Spanish rule: “Spreta. Ambrosia. Vescitor. Feno. 1585” (Despise ambrosia, ‘ye feed on straw’).⁴⁵ The clash between the dignified image of Elizabeth presenting the roses to the representatives of the Provinces, and the Spaniards relegated to the odor of a manger, satirize Spain’s policy in the Low Countries in particular with respect to Antwerp, which was under siege. Originally, the United Provinces sought help in their struggle from Henri III of France (1551–89), but, confronted with his refusal, they turned to Elizabeth for support.⁴⁶

The precarious situation of Antwerp is reproduced in a medal that figuratively depicts this Belgian city as estranged in its own land. The obverse side displays a pilgrim with a turtle by his feet. His right hand is extended to signify the need for help. The turtle is an attribute commonly associated with pilgrims as illustrated in Guillaume La Perrière, “Emblem LI” “Pelerin laisse & femme, filz, & filles” (The pilgrim leaves behind wife, sons and daughters). In this case its presence reinforces the idea that the turtle, like the pilgrim, carries its own home on its back. Van Loon

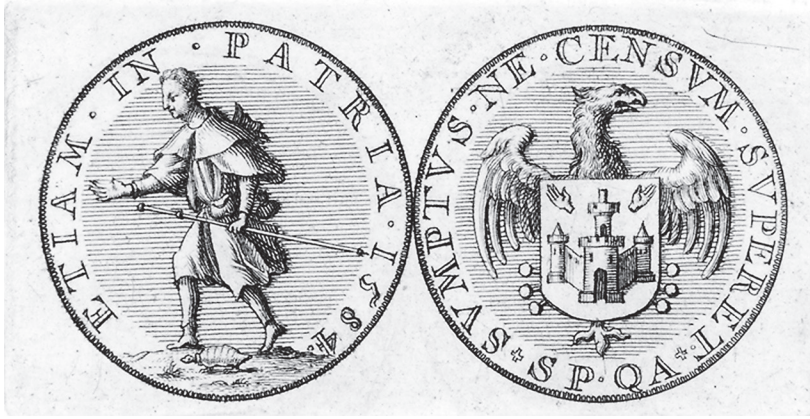


Fig. 18. Medallion engraving of Antwerp as a pilgrim. *Obverse side:* "Etiam. In. Patria. 1584" (In its very homeland 1584). *Reverse side:* "Svmtvs. Ne. Censvm. Svperet. S[Enatvs] P[Opvlv]. Q[Ve] A[Ntvverpiensis]." From Gerard van Loon, *Histoire métallique des XVII Provinces des Pays-Bas* (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid).

explains that the pilgrim is the emblem of the city of Antwerp, which, surrounded by enemies and deprived of any trade with its allies, is like a stranger in its own province and thus the legend, "Etiam. In. Patria. 1584" (In its very homeland) (344). On the reverse side, an imperial eagle holds the city's coat of arms. The shield emphasizes the status of Antwerp as a Marquisate of the Holy Empire through inclusion of the royal bird. The legend reads, "Svmtvs. Ne. Censvm. Svperet. S[Enatvs] P[Opvlv]. Q[Ve] A[Ntvverpiensis]" (That the expense does not surpass the revenue. The senate and people of Antwerp).⁴⁷ The historical context surrounding the medal goes back to 1576 when the Army of Flanders, commanded by the third Duke of Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, "the butcher of Flanders," engaged in successive mutinies, burning down the city and killing seven thousand citizens. The incident, now known as the "Spanish Fury," contributed to the dissemination of the Black Legend across Europe and stirred up popular antagonism against the Spaniards. Antwerp had been an important cultural and political center with a vibrant printing industry. After the Fury, the city joined the Union of Utrecht in 1579 and became

the center of the revolt. To regain the city, the Duke of Parma, Alessandro Farnesse, who replaced Alba as governor of the Netherlands, laid siege to Antwerp in July 1584. After thirteen months, the city surrendered. Although it was under Spanish rule, the legendary Dutch Sea Beggars remained in control of the coast and harbors, making it nearly impossible to establish trade. The visual metaphor of the pilgrim who cannot feel at ease in his own land expresses the feeling of isolation that the people of Antwerp were forced to endure.

As mentioned above, the difficult situation that the United Provinces were facing compelled them to rely on England's help. On August 20, 1585, Elizabeth agreed to officially support the Dutch rebels by signing "The Treaty of Nonsuch" with the State's General, sending 7,350 men and providing strategic advice to fight the rebels. The English forces commanded by Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, arrived in the Netherlands in December of 1585. Around the same time, Elizabeth encouraged Francis Drake's mission to the Spanish Indies with twenty ships. Dudley's landing in the Netherlands and Elizabeth's support of piracy in the New World represented hostile actions against the Spaniards. As Parker succinctly puts it, "England had, in effect, declared war on Spain" (243). By 1587, Leicester and his troops were recalled from the United Provinces as a result of the discontent of the people who distrusted him and felt that the queen had given Dudley too much power: "Suspected in England, too, of excessive ambition, Leicester was recalled by a furious queen and was obliged to confront her displeased council."⁴⁸ However, just a year earlier, a 1586 commemorative medal that depicted Leicester by Elizabeth's side helps to illustrate the support that the queen provided to the United Provinces and the dynamic involved in the representation of the royal image.

On the obverse side of the medal, Elizabeth appears crowned and seated.⁴⁹ The Virgin Queen is metaphorically embracing the struggle of the Dutch rebels by holding a double-edged sword in her right hand. The Earl of Leicester stands on her left side and presents a scroll or a book to her. Hawkins convincingly argues that the presence of Leicester seems appropriate to the context since he was "considered the great champion of

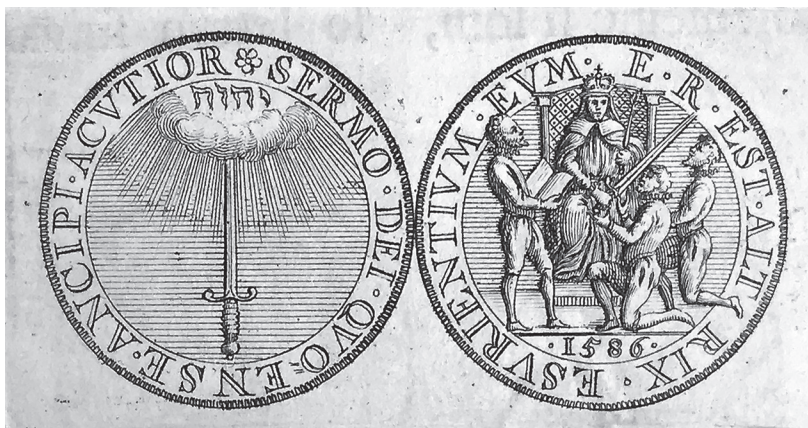


Fig. 19. Medallion engraving of Elizabeth I with a double-edged sword. *Obverse side:* “E. R. Est. Altrix. Esvrientivm. Evm. 1586.” *Reverse Side:* “Sermo. Dei. Qvo: Ense. Ancipi: Acvtior.” From Gerard van Loon, *Histoire métallique des XVII Provinces des Pays-Bas* (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid).

Protestantism” (133). On the right side, two deputies from the Provinces kneel out of respect. The inscription says, “E. R. Est. Altrix. Esvrientivm. Evm. 1586” (Queen Elizabeth is the nourisher of those who hunger after Him, i.e., God) (133). On the reverse side, a close-up of Elizabeth’s sword points toward a cloud that bears the name of Jehovah in Hebrew and the words, “Sermo. Dei. Qvo: Ense. Ancipi: Acvtior” (The word of God is sharper than any two-edged sword) (133). The iconography of this particular medal reinforces the well-established trope of the Book and the Sword within Tudor political culture. According to John King, English monarchs starting with Henry VIII often used this motif to position themselves as the head of the church.⁵⁰ An earlier example of this can be found on the title page of the Coverdale Bible (1535), designed after a woodcut by Hans Holbein the Younger (120). On this medal, the Dutch portrayed Elizabeth as a political ally against Spain, as a herald of Protestantism, and as a leader of the Church of England against the Vatican.

The presence of Robert Dudley in the numismatic iconography of Elizabeth in the Low Countries is significant because it provides insight

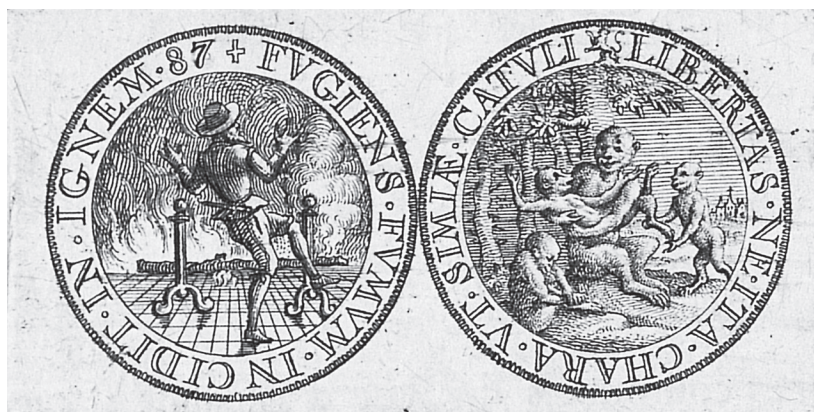


Fig. 20. Medalllic engraving of an inhabitant of the Low Countries falling into the fire. *Obverse side:* "Fvgiens. Fvmvm. In Cidit. In. Ignem. [15]87." *Reverse side:* "Libertas. Ne. Ita. Chara. Vt. Simiae. Catvli." From Gerard van Loon, *Histoire métallique des XVII Provinces des Pays-Bas* (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid).

into the dialectics of production and reception of medals and their role as symbolic acts of communication. For instance, a visual representation of the fears and anxieties of the inhabitants of the Low Countries in regard to Dudley's leadership are expressed on the satirical and self-deprecating Belgian piece discussed below.⁵¹ The visual language of this particular composition warns the rebels of the risks of falling from one type of tyranny into another, as it was becoming clear that Dudley aimed to "usurp the Government" of the United Provinces.⁵² The obverse side portrays a resident of the Low Countries unintentionally walking into the flames while trying to avoid the smoke; the inscription reads, "Fvgiens. Fvmvm. In Cidit. In. Ignem. [15]87" (Avoiding the smoke he falls into the fire).⁵³ The reverse side depicts a monkey surrounded by its offspring with the words, "Libertas. Ne. Ita. Chara. Vt. Simiae. Catvli" (Let not liberty be as dear to us as its cubs to an ape) (138). The monkey cares so much for its young that it can accidentally suffocate them. Similarly, the burning desire of the rebels to break ties with Spain by trusting the English could eventually stifle their freedom like the monkey with its offspring.⁵⁴ In the

context of the Low Countries, the overall meaning of the composition is based on two different images that converge into a single warning over excessive behavior: weary from the Spanish smoke, the rebels' love for independence may throw them into Leicester's fire. Following the queen's order to retreat in 1587, Leicester prepared a symbolic response to those who failed to appreciate him:

At his Departure he privately distributed amongst some whom he had drawn to his Fraction certain Medals or Tokens made in Gold, on the one side whereof was his own Picture; and on the other side a Flock of Sheep, some Sheep straying, and a Dog ready to goe away . . . Near the Dog was, *Invitus desero*, that is Unwillingly I forsake, and near the Sheep, *non gregem, sed ingratos*, that is, not the Flock, but the Unthankfull.⁵⁵

Drawing on Christian tropes, Dudley portrays himself as a zealous shepherd whose flock has been ungrateful during his time as Governor of Holland, Zeeland, and the United Provinces.⁵⁶

Leicester's private gesture stands in contrast to a public incident between the rebels and the Catholics in the Netherlands that occurred in conjunction with the production and circulation of coins and medals. Luis Astrana Marín recalls that, with the dispersion of the Spanish fleet, the dissenters in Flanders "mint[ed] medals and compose[d] epigrams" against the Catholics in an attempt to encourage the revolt (353). As a response, the Catholics in the Southern Netherlands created a provocative medal with the aim of intimidating the rebels. The obverse side exhibits the Duke of Parma, Roman style, gallantly riding on a triumphal cart pulled by horses. The legend commemorates his conquest of Grave, a Northern Dutch town, and it is a reference to the Siege of 1586: "Gravia. Subacta. Tropheum. 1586" (Trophy on the occasion of the surrender of Grave). The obverse side shows a strong Dutch man together with a much leaner Spanish soldier. With apparent ease, the Spaniard pulls the big Dutch man by the ear. The inscription that surrounds the image states, "Treme. Auris. Batava" (Tremble, stupid Dutch man). The same image of the Spaniard and the Dutch man reappears in a 1587 piece. However, on this

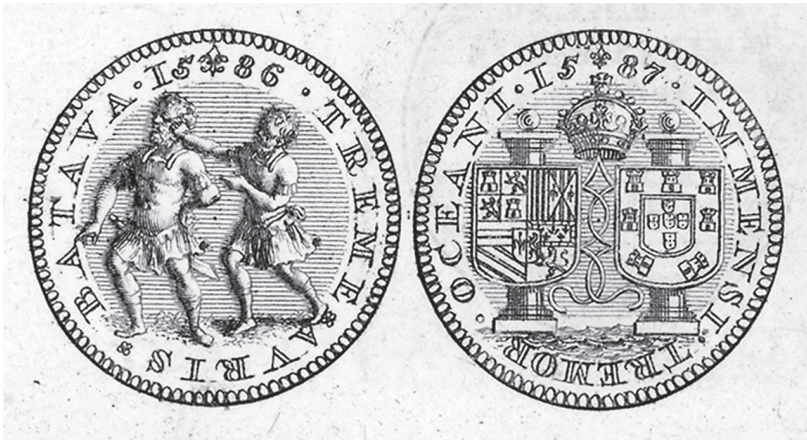
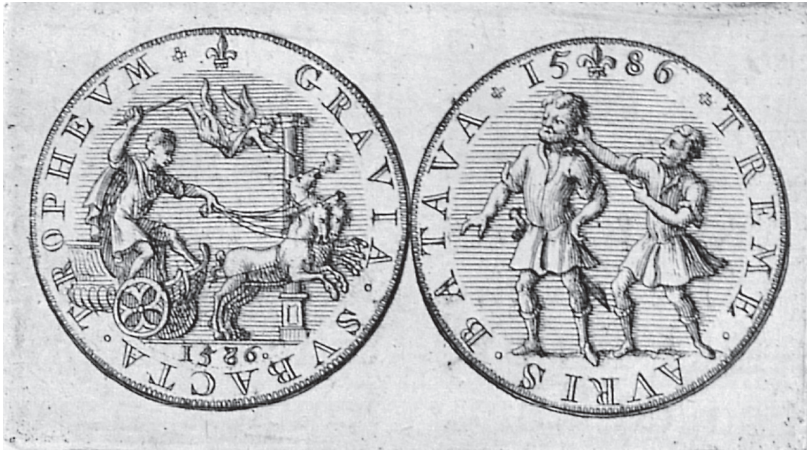


Fig. 21. (top) Medallion engraving on the occasion of the surrender of Grave. *Obverse side:* "Gravia. Subacta. Tropheum. 1586." *Reverse side:* "Treme. Auris. Batava." From Gerard van Loon, *Histoire m  tallique des XVII Provinces des Pays-Bas* (Biblioteca Nacional de Espa  a, Madrid).

Fig. 22. Medallion engraving with the arms of Spain and Portugal. *Obverse side:* "Inmensi. Tremor Oceani. 1587." *Reverse side:* "Treme. Auris. Batava." From Gerard van Loon, *Histoire m  tallique des XVII Provinces des Pays-Bas* (Biblioteca Nacional de Espa  a, Madrid).



Fig. 23. Medallion engraving of Elizabeth I seated on a triumphal chariot. *Obverse side:* "Tandem. Bona. Causa. Trivmphat. 1589." *Reverse side:* "Si. Non. Viribvs. At. Causa. Potiores." From Gerard van Loon, *Histoire métallique des XVII Provinces des Pays-Bas* (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid).

piece the obverse side no longer portrays Parma's triumph over Grave but reminds the viewer of Philip II's more significant victory over Portugal with the parallel display of Spain's and Portugal's coat of arms attached to the front of Hercules's columns joined by a knot.⁵⁷ The inscription on the medal wrongly anticipates the Spanish victory and adds a touch of sarcasm to the vanity of the Spaniards toward what proved to be a very turbulent sea: "Inmensi. Tremor Oceani. 1587" (The trembling fear of the immense ocean).⁵⁸

Among the nine medals registered in Hawkins's *Medallion Illustrations* that directly celebrate the Armada's defeat between 1588 and 1589, only one includes an image of Elizabeth.⁵⁹ This 1589 silver counter struck in Holland relies on classical Roman imagery to convey the celebration of Elizabeth's greatest military accomplishment.⁶⁰ The obverse side portrays Elizabeth regally seated on a triumphal cart: with one hand she holds a palm branch and with the other a Dutch prayer book. The legend conveys a sense of righteousness regarding the recently achieved victory likely



Fig. 24. Medallion illustration of Elizabeth I defeating the Antichrist. *Obverse side:* "Deo. Opt[imo]. Max[imo]. Laus. Et. Honor. In. O[Mn]i. Aevun. Quod." *Reverse side:* "Quem. Deus. Conficiet. Spiritu. Oris. Sui." From Gerard van Loon, *Histoire métallique des XVII Provinces des Pays-Bas* (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid).

shared by the Dutch rebels: "Tandem. Bona. Causa. Triumphat. 1589" (At length the good cause triumphs).⁶¹ The reverse side is dominated by the presence of a leafy tree in which a voracious bird of prey (Spain) is trying to attack a nest full of chicks (the rebels). The inscription, "Bellum Necessarium" (Necessary war), runs across the surface of the composition and once again is intended to justify the Dutch struggle and Elizabeth's success against the Spaniards. The inscription on the reverse side declares, "Si. Non. Viribus. At. Causa. Potiores" (If not in strength, yet in our cause more powerful).⁶² The imagery of the medal presents Elizabeth as a fair ruler guided by moral principles while also stressing the defenseless state of the rebels in the Low Countries vis-à-vis the powerful but morally questionable Spanish Empire.

Among the metal portraits of Elizabeth that inform the understanding of relations between Spain and England through the lens of the Netherlands, a 1587 silver medal stands out. In the composition, Elizabeth appears seated on a throne with her feet resting on the Beast of the Apocalypse

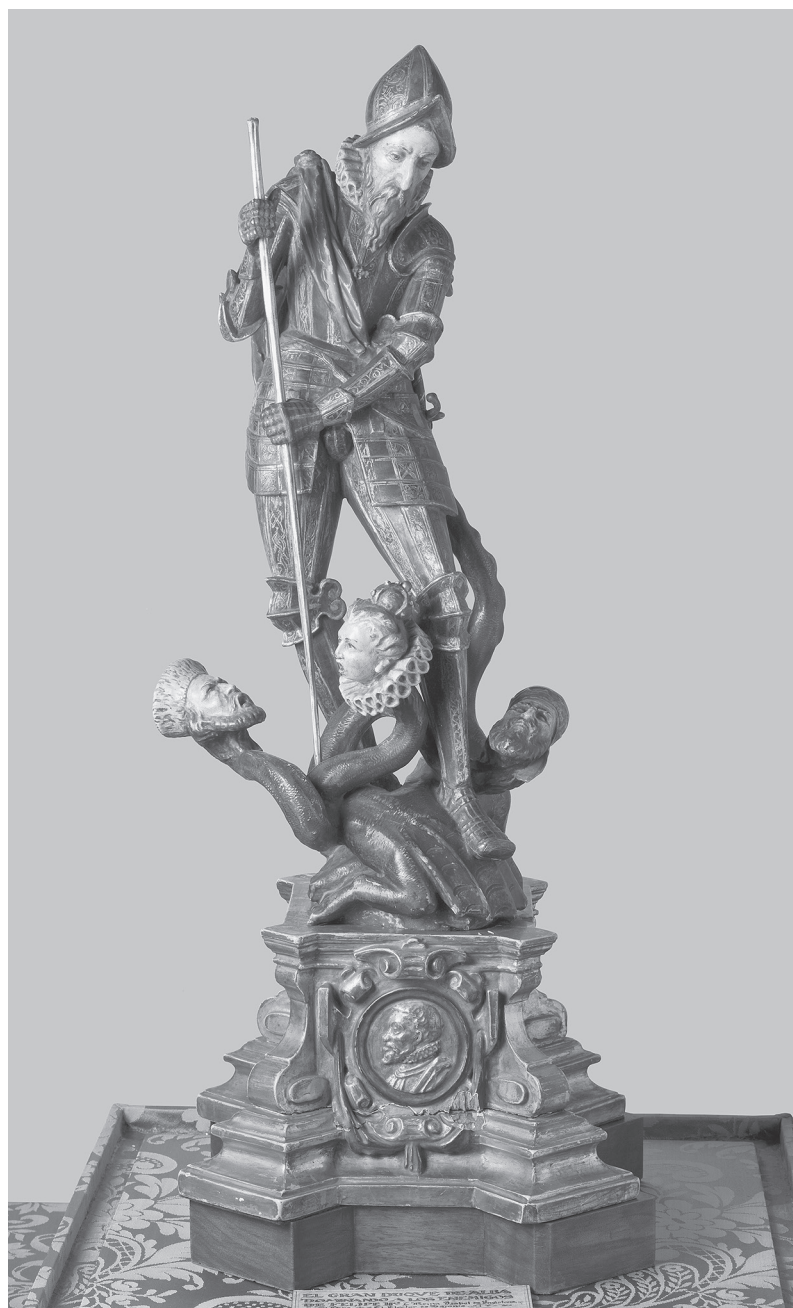
to signify her control over the Church of Rome. On the left side, the Earl of Leicester presents Elizabeth with a Royal Mantel. The expectation is that the queen will drape the Mantel over the five attendants, each representing a rebel province identifiable by their respective coat of arms: Gelderland, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, and Friesland. The inscription states, “Deo. Opt[Imo]. Max[Imo]. Laus. Et. Honor. In. O[Mn]E. Aevun. Quod” (To the best and greatest God be praised and honour for ever, because).⁶³ The reverse side of the medal dramatically displays the fall of the Antichrist. Like the medal that exhibited Elizabeth with the sword, the name of Jehovah in Hebrew appears inside a cloud. Below the cloud, the pope, cardinals, other members of the clergy, and a variety of ecclesiastical objects hurtle downward. The inscription states, “Quem. Deus. Conficiet. Spiritu. Oris. Sui” (Which God will consume by the breath of his mouth) (139). Van Loon notices that the legend, “Deo. Opt[Imo] . . . Quod” (To the best . . . because), is interrupted and thus it calls for an explanation. One could ask, because of what? Van Loon’s suggestion is that the commissioners of the medal—some sincere reformers and supporters of Leicester who were interested in offering the government of the Provinces to Elizabeth—seemed overly cautious with the request and left unsaid what they truly meant.⁶⁴ Overall, the iconography of the medal and its general composition is reminiscent of paintings of the Virgin Mary enthroned and surrounded by various figures found across the history of medieval and Renaissance art, from Jan Van Eyck’s *Madonna and Child Enthroned* (1434), to Botticelli’s *Madonna and Child with Six Saints* (1470) and Raphael’s *Madonna and Child with Saints* (1504–1505). Other Marian imagery that could be associated with this medal is the so-called *Madonna della Misericordia* (Madonna of Mercy), in which the Virgin is depicted standing, open armed, and offering protection to a group of devotees who kneel under her fully extended cloak. Among the various examples of this type of imagery are Piero della Francesca’s *Polyptych of the Misericordia* (ca. 1460) and Giovanni Romanino’s processional banner known as *The Flagellation* (ca. 1540) in which the Madonna of Mercy is depicted on the reverse side.



Fig. 25. Alba's Mission to the Netherlands and the Effects of his Tyranny, 1572.
 Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

The early presence of Fernando Álvarez de Toledo in the conflict with the Netherlands yielded numerous pamphlets and engravings that denounced his oppressive political strategy and religious bigotry.⁶⁵ The engraving *Alba's Mission to the Netherlands and the Effects of his Tyranny* (Unknown artist, 1572) brings together four Protestant propaganda prints in which the duke is portrayed abusing his authority and behaving with great cruelty toward his subjects.⁶⁶ At the top and bottom of each of the images, parallel texts in French and Dutch remark on the methods, alliances, motivations, and outcomes of Alba's enterprise in the region. For example, an untitled print, in which Alba appears seated and locked in an embrace with the Whore of Babylon, comments on the absence of commerce and prosperity in the region as a result of the duke's policies. In the print, the Whore of Babylon appears beside Alba. Following the traditional iconography from John's book of Revelation, she is displayed riding "a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns."⁶⁷ Babylon wears the papal tiara, reinforcing the association with the Roman Catholic Church and its support for Alba. Signs of material ruin surround the couple. Abandoned ships in the background reveal the precarious situation in the region where "the seamen are helpless" and "the merchant can sell no merchandise." On one side of the print, a reclining peddler with a basket full of items idly extends his legs in front of the unusual lovers. The bilingual text explains, "The peddler is condemned to poverty. He cannot sell his goods because of Alba's beheading, taxation, and stealing." In this rough economic and political climate emerges the only image of Elizabeth that deliberately portrays the Virgin Queen as an enemy of Spain.

El Gran Duque de Alba vence a los enemigos de Felipe II (The Grand Duke of Alba defeats the enemies of Philip II) is a polychromatic woodcarving sculpted in an unknown Flanders workshop circa 1570. The two inscriptions in this piece read, "Ferdin / Alvares. T. Dvx. Alba / M.C.Sal.Belgic" And "Philip / D.G.Hisp.Sic.N Ap. / Rex.Arc.Avg.MDLXVIII." Currently housed at the *Casa de Alba Foundation* (Liria Palace, Madrid), this rather intimate statue of the mature duke has been rendered in a relatively small



format (65 x 28 x 28 cm.). Standing on a parallel-piped pedestal, Alba is dressed in a suit of armor and looks down at the floor. He holds a long staff with two hands and impassively steps forward, spearing the three-headed hydra that lies at his feet. The multi-headed hydra refers to Philip II's opponents—namely, Pope Paul IV (1476–1559), Elizabeth I, and a third figure that could either be William of Orange or the elector of Saxony, John Frederick I (1503–47).

This allegorical representation of Alba blends rivals of the Hapsburg monarchy and strategically positions the duke as a Castilian Hercules ready to submit and slay the enemies of the empire who crawl at the base. Elizabeth's head is shown between Alba's legs. Her reddish cheeks, openmouthed gesture, and position under the general accentuate the caricature of the queen. Alba was a proponent of the English alliance with Spain on the basis of financial interests. He supported Philip II's attempts to prevent Pius V from issuing the papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis* (1570) that attempted to excommunicate Elizabeth, and he also questioned Roberto di Ridolfo's long-planned plot (1571) to assassinate the queen and replace her with Mary Queen of Scots.⁶⁸ However, at his point in his career, Alba had no other choice but to fight Elizabeth. A series of commercial and diplomatic violations on both the Spanish and the English sides between 1568 and 1570 added strain to the already tense situation in the Low Countries and propelled what Philip II himself called "a virtual state of war" with England (100). Those violations included the English seizure of five Spanish ships seeking refuge on English shores after a storm (1568), full of precious metals and destined to pay the duke's armies; the subsequent retaliation on Spain's part, confiscating all English property, both in the Netherlands and on the Iberian Peninsula (1569); followed, in turn, by a like response from England toward Spain. Behind the queen is the Italian pope, Paul IV (Gian Pietro Carafa), known in history for his

Fig. 26. (opposite) *The Grand Duke of Alba Defeats the Enemies of Phillip II*, unknown artist of Flanders Workshop, ca. 1570. Sculpture. Courtesy Casa de Alba Foundation, Liria Palace, Madrid.

declared animosity toward the Hapsburgs and in particular for his failed attempt to expel the Spaniards from Naples through an alliance with the French monarch Henry II.⁶⁹

Facing Elizabeth's left side is another character. Manuel Arias Martínez remarks on the difficulty of establishing the identity of this third figure. Besides the elector of Saxony, John Frederick I, leader of Germany and defender of Lutheranism, Arias Martínez suggests the name of William I, Prince of Orange and Count of Nassau, based on the animosity that existed between Nassau and Alba (230). Significantly, the year found in the inscription marks a key moment in Alba's career that establishes a nexus between Alba and the Nassau family. On July 21, 1568, the duke defeated Louis of Nassau, William of Orange's brother, at the Battle of Jemmingen, and on October 20, 1568, Alba triumphed over William himself at Jodoigne. Notably, the Battle of Jemmingen is one of the battles that marked the beginning of the Eighty Years' War, also known as the Dutch War of Independence.

Nonetheless, there are other reasons to suppose that Alba's third enemy in this woodcarving is indeed John Frederick I, particularly considering the presence of Pope Paul IV in the composition. The depiction of the elector of Saxony and the pope in relation to Alba goes back to an earlier stage of the Grand Duke's military career. In 1545, under the command of Charles V, Alba was recruited to participate in the campaigns to fight the Lutheran princes of the Schmalkaldic League, which included John Frederick.⁷⁰ The Protestant leaders of the Holy Roman Empire formed the league to oppose the 1531 Diet of Augsburg "which gave the Protestant territories a deadline by which to return to Catholic practices" ("Paul IV," *Britannica Online*). Although the historic accounts question the skills of the Castilians and their imperialist allies at the Battle of Mühlberg (April 24, 1547), this military action turned out to be crucial for Alba's career. In 1552 the forty-year-old general became the commander in chief of Charles V's army in Italy and, significant for this analysis, in 1557 Alba forced the pope to reach an agreement with Spain, thus securing the victory for Philip II and Alba's very own place among members of the nobility and the military.⁷¹



Fig. 27. Portrait of Elizabeth I in Franz Hogenberg's *Sucesos de Europa* (1535–1610). The inscription reads: “Elisabet Dei Gratia Angliae Franciae et Hiberniae Regina Etc. 1604.” Courtesy Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

The last representation of Elizabeth to be considered here also comes from the Low Countries. Housed at the Goya Room in Spain's National Library in Madrid, a seemingly innocuous print of the Virgin Queen deserves closer examination because of an anonymous addition that appears to denigrate her. This circular portrait of Elizabeth with a high frilled collar is part of *Sucesos de Europa* (European events) (1535–1610?), a collection of prints by the Flemish engraver Franz Hogenberg who, as a Protestant artist, was banned from the Netherlands by the Duke of Alba from 1567 to 1570.⁷² Elizabeth is depicted from the shoulders up with a

long pearl necklace, delicate pearl buttons, and an upright veil behind her head. The National Portrait Gallery in London holds two other copies from the same matrix plate. Aside from the different dates (circa 1578 and 1604), and other minor variations in the inscriptions, the portrait is the same.⁷³ Fernando Bouza remarks on the handwritten correction on the Madrid print from the same time period that changes the Latin inscription from “Elisabet Dei Gratia Angliae Franciae et Hiberniae Regina etc. 1604” (Elizabeth by the Grace of God Queen of England, France and Ireland etc. 1604) to “Elisabet Dei *Ira et Indignatione* Angliae Franciae et Hiberniae Regina etc. 1604” (Elizabeth by the *anger and indignation* of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland etc. 1604).⁷⁴ The handwritten correction, “Ira et Indignatione,” is enigmatic and so is the date on the inscription, since Queen Elizabeth I Tudor died on March 24, 1603, not a year later.

Eduardo Olid Guerrero suggests the possibility that the expression “Ira et Indignatione” may be a direct reference to the Vulgata Psalm 29:6 and to the work of the prominent Spanish philosopher and theologian Francisco Suárez (1548–1617).⁷⁵ Although written after Elizabeth’s death, Suárez’s *De Defensio Fidei Catholicae* (In defense of the Catholic faith) (1613) discredits the notion promoted by Protestant theologians that sovereigns are God’s representatives on Earth, and for that reason the book was considered a direct attack on the English monarchy and, more specifically, on James I.⁷⁶ Suárez’s *De Defensio* inspired much controversy abroad and clear signs of rejection soon appeared. In England it was burned on the steps of St. Paul’s Cathedral in London, while in France the parliament in Paris banned Suárez’s work because of its potential for diminishing the power of the absolute rulers.⁷⁷

Regardless of its actual source, the anonymous correction to the portrait eloquently speaks of a latent desire to discredit the Virgin Queen for posterity. The correction, most likely by a Catholic sympathizer, reveals his or her political stance on the reign of Elizabeth I. In the context of representations of Elizabeth in woodcuts, David Davis argues that Elizabethan readers engaged interactively with a given text through “the practice of altering, adjusting, removing, augmenting, or even defacing the printed

page” as a way of “incorporating his or her own thoughts and beliefs into the material object” (65). Marginal notes, drawings, the insertion of printed images, and even the binding of individual works together stand as examples of this practice (65). In this particular instance, the attack on the queen comes in writing; her likeness however, remains strangely unharmed. It is through words that the representation itself has been tampered with and disfigured. The deletion and subsequent addition to the portrait conveys the ideological stance of a reader for whom Elizabeth’s ascension to the throne of England and her subsequent influence in international affairs resulted in the expression of God’s rage and indignation.

Conclusion

The search for visual representations of Elizabeth I Tudor with origins in the Spanish tradition illustrates the dynamic and complex cultural exchange that took place between Spain and England in the second half of the sixteenth century. Although valuable in their own right, the relative absence of images that are critical of the queen establishes a contrast with the virulent accounts in written sources. While the verbal portraits of Elizabeth by Spanish writers and intellectuals exhibit a venomous tone, the critique in visual portraits is notably understated. Neither the satirical depiction of Elizabeth as a member of the Tudor dynasty that emerges from the English School in Seville, nor the handwritten alteration of the Latin inscription of Elizabeth’s portrait can be considered examples of toxic visual political propaganda. On the contrary, they remain within the boundaries of royal decorum and offer a subtler criticism of the English queen. It is remarkable that in both instances the satire is accomplished either directly, through words aimed at Elizabeth, or indirectly by demonizing her father. In each of those cases, the image of Elizabeth could have been easily disfigured. Yet, the portraits remained respectful to the eye although degraded to the ear.

The political situation in the Low Countries with respect to Spain encouraged the production of miniature metal portraits of Elizabeth that reflected the existing tensions between Spain, England, and France

at a time of vigorous material and symbolic circulation among the three nations.⁷⁸ These portraits reveal key ideological tropes that marked the political decisions and imaginations of a territory in which Protestants and Catholics were constantly struggling over political affiliations, economic issues, and religious beliefs. During this time, these territories remained under the rule of the Spanish Crown, while at the same time they attempted to gain political and religious autonomy by cultivating powerful alliances with other nations including England. Hence, in these images, Elizabeth is portrayed as a benign monarch toward her political allies and as a fearless ruler who does not hesitate to use violence, challenge the papacy, and fight against the enemies of England and the Protestant Church. The satirical images created by the Dutch rebels originate at the periphery of the Spanish Empire, not in the center. They attack Philip II and his state policy in the Netherlands, but not Elizabeth, who positioned herself as a potential ally of the rebels.

The only representation of the Virgin Queen that clearly violates the boundaries of royal decorum is the polychromatic wooden sculpture of the Duke of Alba stepping over the enemies of the Hapsburg monarchy. However, even in that image, Elizabeth's prominence as the archenemy of the Spanish Empire is diluted by the presence of other figures. The focus is Alba's strength; Elizabeth is one of the heads of the three-headed hydra struggling to survive a moment of imminent danger from Alba's spear. At the sculpture's base, a circular profile bust of Philip II reinforces the idea that the sculpture was conceived with the intention of asserting the power of the Spanish Empire over its enemies, Elizabeth being one of them.

From these verbal and visual representations of Elizabeth emerges an incomplete yet compelling image of the Virgin Queen as seen from the point of view of a rival empire. However, the more one investigates these representations, the more elusive they become. They resist strict categorization of her image into a single unified pattern, and despite a limited number of instances, the remarkable lack of visual representations is what appears to be at the center of the discussion. The examples examined above illustrate the ongoing dynamic between authorized and

unauthorized images of the royal likeness and the ideological nature of this representation in all its complexities. Other Spanish images of Elizabeth I Tudor in the iconography of her time await discovery to become part of the long-standing iconographical tradition surrounding the Virgin Queen.

NOTES

1. This reference is to the *Armada Portrait* (1588), by an unknown English artist, that was formerly attributed to George Grouse. Catalogs of Queen Elizabeth's portraits and engravings have been compiled by Horatio Walpole, Freeman O'Donoghue, Arthur M. Hind, Erna Auerbach, and Roy Strong's multiple publications on the topic. Archival research for this chapter was conducted under the auspices of a Moravian College Faculty Development and Research Grant for Summer 2015. I am grateful for this institutional support, which facilitated the completion of my work.
2. The engravings, signed by Gaspar Bouttats (1640–95), depict the queen from the torso up holding a book with a clasp inside an oval shape at the center of the composition. Beneath the image is a label that identifies her as "Elizabetha, Reyna de Ingalaterra [*sic*]." The image is inscribed inside a frontispiece. A variety of mythological figures and iconographical details are also part of the composition. They include Janus, the double-headed Roman god; Minerva with her owl and a shield exhibiting Medusa's head; Orpheus with his lyre; a seven-headed beast or dragon; winged cupids; Achilles's shield; and the allegorical representation of Prudence as a young maid holding a mirror in one hand and a snake in the other. There are at least three different versions of these engravings that display Elizabeth. Although the frames are different, all of them share the exact same figure of the queen inside an oval form. While these engravings are valuable in their own right, I am reluctant to offer a particular iconographical interpretation of the engravings surrounding the image of Elizabeth. In Bentivoglio's volume and other editions of *Las guerras de Flandes* (1687), for example, the same imagery is present outside the oval frame in the depiction of a variety of political figures, from Cardinal Bentivoglio himself, to Count Maurice of Nassau; Pedro Henríquez, Count of Fuentes; Francis d'Anjou; and King Enrico of Navarra. The fact that the engravers used matching frames and changed the faces of the subjects portrayed suggests that the iconographical details found in these images do not necessarily refer to

- the queen's individual presence. They are better understood as decorations, not necessarily indicative of the sitter's distinct qualities. Some of these engravings can be seen at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000180189&page=1>.
3. Most notably, Catherine de Medici owned two of them. For more on this topic, see Roy Strong's "The Portraits and their Use," 23–32, and "Gloriana," 22.
 4. Falomir Faus, *Felipe II*, 91.
 5. Quoted in Bouza, "Corte es decepción," 494. The original reads: "este [retrato] era una 'pieza de estima' . . . así lo deuía de pensar esta noche un maestro de campo milanés, porque tocando a la oración esta tarde en mi cámara [. . .] se bolvió a rezar hacia la reyna y dexéle ydolatrar por no réirme hasta acavar de rezar, engañóse porque hazía oscuro, que, aunque ella deve ser santa, ninguna cosa parece menos el retrato" (Don Juan de Silva al marqués de Velada, Lisboa, 8 de noviembre 1597, BNM, mss. 6198 [quoted in Bouza, "Corte es decepción," 494].) Unless otherwise specified, all translations from Spanish to English are mine.
 6. For Cervantes's treatment of Elizabeth I in *La española inglesa*, see Eduardo Olid Guerrero's article and his introduction to this volume. Cervantes writes, "Dos canciones a la Armada Invencible" (Two songs to the Spanish Armada) (1588), before and after the first attempted invasion, although none of them mention the English monarch by name.
 7. "Con la mano ocupada / del huso en vez de cetro y de la espada; / mujer de muchos, y de muchos nuera, / ¡oh reina torpe, reina no, mas loba / libidinosa y fiera" (146). For more on the topic of Elizabeth in the poetry of Spain, see Alejandro García-Reidy and David Jesús Jerez-Gómez in this volume.
 8. "[M]ira la reina del Dragón, Medea, / que las costas de América pasea" (158). Other written attacks on Elizabeth include Lope's sonnet "A la jornada de Inglaterra" (To the military expedition to England) (1602) and a peculiar account of a 1587 dream recorded by Lucrecia de León in which the queen appeared to her "seated with a dead and disemboweled lamb in her lap, thrusting her hands into the eviscerated cavity and bathing them with blood" (quoted in Montrose, *Subject of Elizabeth*, 162).
 9. The original reads "no se atreviendo a sucesión bastarda / ni a casarse, el temor que podía / nombrando rey perder el solo Imperio" (1, vv. 141–43). For other negative representations of the English people in general and their queen in the context of Spain, see Miguel Herrero García.
 10. For the relationship between ideology and visual representations in the Spanish baroque, see José Antonio Maravall.

11. Auerbach, *Tudor Artists*, 103.
12. The 1563 draft proclamation was issued to control the production of offensive images of the queen until “some speciall person that shall be by hir allowed shall have first fynished a portraicture therof, after which fynished, hir Majesty will be content that all other payntors, or grauors . . . Shall and maye at ther plesures follow the sayd patron or first portrictur” (Public Record Office, SP 12/13, no. 25, quoted in Strong, “Portraits,” 5).
13. Quoted in Content, “Fair Is Fowle,” 229.
14. Quoted in Content, “Fair Is Fowle,” 229.
15. Strong, *Gloriana*, 12.
16. A telling example of royal censorship over the production of images is found in Sir Walter Raleigh’s *History of the World* (1687), in which he recalls that at some point in Elizabeth’s reign there was a mandate to burn all the paintings of her majesty done by unskillful “common Painters” (Strong, “Gloriana,” 14).
17. Gold Forgery, “Curator’s comments.” For more information on the forged coin, see L. A. Lawrence, and Simon Jabob and David Saywell.
18. About this doodle, see Robert Content’s fascinating study on anti-Elizabethan portraiture. In “Bones of Contention,” Julia Walker examines two posthumous images of Elizabeth—Thomas Cecil’s *Truth Presents the Queen with a Lance* (ca. 1622) and Marcus Gheeraerts’s *Elizabeth with Time and Death* (ca. 1622)—as examples of subtle but critical representations of the Monarch that draw on Elizabeth’s triumph over the Spanish Armada: “These two portraits provide a key to the multivalency of Elizabeth’s image in the third Stuart decade, showing how potent a marker of political commentary Elizabeth remained” (252).
19. *Calendar of State Papers Foreign*, Nov. 17, 1583, no. 246.
20. *Calendar of State Papers Foreign*, Nov. 19, 1583, no. 251.
21. Once the priests were ordained at the colleges, they were required to go back to their native England where they had to fulfill the promise to spread the Catholic faith. In England, they were often persecuted and occasionally executed for treason by English authorities and consequently regarded as martyrs by Catholics. On the subject of English martyrs and the significance of their relics and other religious symbols, see Anne J. Cruz.
22. Other primary sources referencing English colleges in Spain include Persons’s earlier *The King of Spaines receiving in Valladolid* (1592) and Antonio Ortiz’s *A relation of the solemnitie* (1601). Ortiz recalls the manner in which the English

- College in Valladolid welcomed Philip III and Queen Margaret on August 22, 1600. For the influence of English Catholics and their relationship to Spain and England, see Christopher Highley's chapter on the topic.
23. Thurston, "St. Thomas Becket."
 24. Thurston, "St. Thomas Becket."
 25. Persons, *Newes from Spayne*, 11v.
 26. "The story that Henry VIII in 1538 summoned the archbishop to stand his trial for high treason, and that when, in June, 1538, the trial had been held and the accused pronounced contumacious, the body was ordered to be disinterred and burnt, is probably apocryphal" (Thurston).
 27. Although it is possible that copies of the actual paper still exist, I have not been able to locate them.
 28. In the original it reads "then."
 29. Elizabeth I, "Elizabeth's Tilbury Speech, July 1588."
 30. See also a thought-provoking engraving at the British Museum by Pieter van der Hayden, *Queen Elizabeth as Diana seated in judgment upon the Pope as Calisto* (ca. 1584–85).
 31. Rodríguez-Salgado, "War and Rebellion," 117.
 32. For this historical information I have relied on Geoffrey Parker, J. H. Elliot, J. M. Rodríguez-Salgado, and Henry Kamen.
 33. For example, Alba implemented the unpopular ten percent sales tax known as the "Tenth Penny," which only years later was revoked.
 34. By 1609 the Spanish Netherlands consisted of Hainaut, Artois, Flanders, Brabant, and Luxembourg, while Holland, Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, and Overijssel were part of The United Provinces.
 35. Quoted in Kamen, *The Duke of Alba*, 75. This sentence is part of William of Orange's letter to the count of Egmont in which he tries to persuade him to leave the country by quoting Alba's advice to Charles V.
 36. In 1571, Philip II designated Juan de la Cerda, Duke of Medinaceli, to replace Alba but the latter refused to resign, asserting that his appointed successor was not ready to take on the given task. By 1573, Luis de Requesens was nominated governor-general of the Low Countries only to be replaced in 1577 by Don Juan de Austria who died a year later. Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma, became regent of the Netherlands from 1578 until 1592.
 37. By contrast, the Southern Provinces, also known as the Spanish Netherlands, remained under Spain's rule from 1579 until 1713.

38. La Haye, 1732.
39. The term “coded iconic message” is taken from Roland Barthes. According to Barthes, there are three messages expressed in a signifying chain in which words and images interact: “a linguistic message, a coded iconic message, and a non-coded iconic message” (154). The caption and the label transmit the linguistic message, which functions simultaneously at the level of denotation and connotation. The non-coded iconic message is the “pure image” (153), the image of the objects that are part of a given composition. Finally, there is the coded iconic message, which for Barthes is ideologically charged. This message results from the interaction between the linguistic message and the non-coded iconic message.

Engravings such as Hieronymus Wierix’s “El Salvador entrega las insignias del poder a Felipe II ante el pontífice” (The Savior Entrusts the Symbols of power to Philip II before the Pope) (1568) stand out as examples of Spain’s engrained providentialism. In the engraving, Christ himself presents the emblems of power—a globe of the world, a cross, a crown, a sword, and a palm—to Philip II who appears kneeling together with the pope. The tiara, the scepter and the crown, all symbols of worldly authority, are placed on an altar to signify the transfer of power from the mundane to the divine. For further discussion of this image and various others of this kind, see Inmaculada Rodríguez and Víctor Mínguez.

40. Strong, “Portraits,” 32. For the connection drawn by Catholics of Elizabeth as Jezebel, see Christopher Highley’s “A Pestilent and Seditious Book.”
41. A portrait medal differs from a coin in that the former “is usually circular, and normally has two sides: the obverse with a portrait and identifying inscription, and the reverse with a text or some sort of figure or scene associated with the sitter” (Scher, 13). By contrast, “coins are an official means of exchange, and therefore controlled and issued by a central authority according to established weights, denominations and materials” (13). For more information regarding the production and specific practices associated with Renaissance portrait medals, see Scher and Rowland.
42. Rodríguez-Salgado, “War and Rebellion,” 110–11.
43. I am most grateful to Jean-Pierre Lalande for his help in translating van Loon’s French and Latin passages.
44. For more information on this piece, see van Loon (355), Pinkerton (19), Hawkins (133), and Checa Cremades (560). Besides the Museo Naval, actual images

- of this piece are reproduced in the *Woolley and Wallis* catalog featuring The Christopher Foley, F.S.A., Collection of English Medals of the Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries (26).
45. Pinkerton, *The Medallic History*, 20.
 46. Checa Cremades, *Felipe II*, 560.
 47. Van Loon, *Histoire métallique*, 344.
 48. Hazard, "Shape and Substance," 127.
 49. For more information on this medal, see van Loon (359), Hawkins (133), Pinkerton (20), and the British Museum's illustration by Henry Stubbe, "A Justification of the Present War against the United Netherlands" (1672). For a reproduction of this medal in silver, see *Woolley and Wallis* (27).
 50. King, "The royal image," 120.
 51. A rendition of this 1587 piece in silver is reproduced in Rodríguez-Salgado (119). It can also be seen at the British Museum. For other details about this specific medal and other examples related to Dudley's role in the Netherlands, see Hawkins (140–42), Pinkerton (19), and van Loon (375).
 52. Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned*, 304. About the use of coins, medals, and other "static elements in the silent language of Elizabethans," see Hazard (107).
 53. Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, 138. Van Loon interprets the image in relation to the Inquisition when he states that the obverse side of the medal shows "A scared inhabitant of the Low Countries who is trying to avoid the smoke of the Spanish Inquisition throws himself into the fire of the perfidy of the English" (368).
 54. This extreme gesture of parental affection resonates with La Perrière's emblem XLVII "Si fort le Singe embrasse ses petitiz" (So strongly the monkey kisses its little ones), in which a monkey is depicted holding its dead infant.
 55. William Camen, quoted in Hazard, "Shape and Substance," 127.
 56. A rendition of this silver medal of Dudley in the role of a shepherd can be found in *Woolley and Wallis* (29) and with minor variations in Rodríguez-Salgado (119).
 57. Van Loon, *Histoire métallique*, 382.
 58. Claude Paradin's emblem in *Devises Heroïques* (Heroic devices) (1557) shares the same motto as this medal. See also van Loon (363, 365, and 382).
 59. For other medals that commemorate the Armada's defeat, see van Loon (388). See also a 1731 bronze medal designed by Jean Dassier at the British Museum

with the bust of Elizabeth on the obverse and a monument in relief recalling the Armada's destruction on the reverse side.

60. This 1589 Dutch silver piece from the National Maritime Museum in London is reproduced in Rodríguez-Salgado (277). See also Woolley and Wallis (33).
61. Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, 153.
62. Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, 153.
63. Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, 139. See also van Loon (369) and Pinkerton (20–21). Reproduced in Woolley and Wallis (29).
64. Van Loon, *Histoire métallique*, 369–70.
65. Among other measures, Alba set in motion a special court called the “Council of Troubles” (1567–1572), also known as the “Council of Blood,” to bring to justice those who initially participated in the rebellion.
66. The images and the translation of the inscriptions are reproduced in Kamen's book but are also available on the website of the Rijksmuseum. The collection at the Rijksmuseum is rich in Alba's iconography and a search on the subject yields numerous results.
67. *The Holy Bible*, Rev. 17:3.
68. Kamen, *The Duke of Alba*, 100.
69. Juan Chiva Beltrán, however, identifies the enemies of Philip II as “el dux de Venecia, un pontífice barbudo, Pablo VI [*sic*], y la reina Isabel” (the dux of Venice, a bearded pontiff, Paul VI [*sic*], and Queen Elizabeth) (112).
70. Kamen, *The Duke of Alba*, 30.
71. The survival of this woodcarving of the duke stands in contrast to the demolition of a full-body, larger-than-life size bronze statue of Alba made by Jacques Joghelinck in 1571. Benito Arias Montano, the respected scholar and editor of the polyglot Bible, advised Alba to commission Joghelinck for a sculpture of himself crushing the rebels to be exhibited in the city center of Antwerp (Kamen, 117–18). The Latin inscription composed by Arias Montano reads, “To Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba, governor of the Netherlands under Philip the Second, for having extinguished sedition, chastised rebellion, restored religion, secured justice, established peace; to the King's most faithful minister this monument is erected” (quoted in Kamen, 118). Given Alba's tyranny as governor, it is not surprising that the statue was destroyed around 1573 by order of Philip II. A bronze bust also by Jacques Joghelinck together with a commemorative portrait medal of the duke have survived and are now part of the Frick Collection in New York City.

72. Hind, *Engraving in England*, 67. I am indebted to Eduardo Olid Guerrero for directing my attention to the existence of this engraving of Elizabeth located at the BNE (National Library of Spain).
73. The engravings at the British Museum are: 1) *Queen Elizabeth I* after Unknown artist. Line engraving, circa 1587. 6¾ in. x 6¾ in. (173 mm x 172 mm) plate size; 8⅛ in. x 8⅛ in. (205 mm x 206 mm) paper size. Acquired unknown source, 1960 Reference Collection NPG D20951; 2) *Queen Elizabeth I* after unknown artist. Line engraving, 1604. 6⅝ in. x 6⅝ in. (169 mm x 167 mm) paper size Reference Collection NPG D21058. There is also an etching that seems to be based on the engravings but it has been horizontally rotated: *Queen Elizabeth I* after Unknown artist etching, 17th century 11⅞ in. x 7⅞ in. (303 mm x 201 mm) paper size. Reference Collection NPG D21057.
74. Bouza, *Anglo-Hispana*, 60 (my emphasis). Juan Carlos Galende Díaz, at the Universidad Complutense of Madrid, identifies the calligraphy of the inscription as “humanistic cursive” from the first half of the seventeenth century based on the *ductus* of individual letters: “La letra es una humanística cursiva del siglo XVII (primera mitad). Razones: El ductus de alguna letra. Por ejemplo la ‘g’ (cabeza cerrada y cuerpo abierto de un solo trazo); la ‘t’, de dos golpes de pluma, cortando astil y traviesa (con el astil ascendiendo de la caja del renglón); y el refuerzo inicial de la ‘d recta.’ Estas características gráficas, también son válidas para finales del XVI, pero el estar fechada la orla en 1604 ya no puede ser del siglo anterior” (Email). The inclusion of France in the original Latin inscription seems odd since at the time England no longer had possessions in French territory.
75. Via email correspondence. The Psalm reads, “quoniam ira in indignatione eius et vita in voluntate eius ad vesperum demorabitur fletus et ad matutinum laetitia” (Psalmi 29:6.)
76. Pérez Goyena, “Francisco Suárez.”
77. Pérez Goyena, “Francisco Suárez.”
78. This expression clearly echoes Anne J. Cruz’s edited volume, *Material and Symbolic Circulation Between Spain and England, 1554–1604*. For the diplomatic relations between the two countries, see also Inmaculada Rodríguez and Víctor Mínguez.

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CHAPTER 6

Political Rhetoric in Lope de Vega's Representation of Elizabeth I

ALEJANDRO GARCÍA-REIDY

Queen Elizabeth I in Lope's Fictional Worlds

On May 29, 1588, the vice-flagship of the Portuguese squadron, the São João (or San Juan) de Portugal, set sail as part of the Armada that, under orders from King Phillip II, had been assembled to invade England.¹ Among the soldiers on this galleon was thirty-five-year-old playwright and poet Lope de Vega, who had arrived in Lisbon from Valencia with the intention of enlisting in this expedition. The lacunae in the documentation and the somewhat vague allusions that Lope would later make to this episode of his life make it impossible to know if he was one of the soldiers who, due to the harsh conditions of the trip, had to be left behind in La Coruña on June 21, or if he continued onboard and participated in the combats with English vessels, the subsequent circumnavigation of the British Isles, and the defeated arrival at the port of La Coruña in late September.² Lope's involvement in the Armada represents the closest he came to setting foot in England, so his knowledge of that country was based on his readings and perhaps from information provided by Catholic Englishmen living in Spain to escape religious persecution. In spite of this lack of direct contact, England has its own place in the fictional worlds that Lope created in the form of plays and poems.³ After all, the relationship between Spain and England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries represents a complex and fascinating episode in the political and cultural histories of Europe and the Spanish empire.⁴ Writers such as Lope de Vega, who

was a central figure in the early modern literary field, often engaged with aspects of this reality in their writings.

Elizabeth I was a key agent in the history between both countries, and it is therefore of no surprise that we find references to her in Lope's works. Her presence as a literary character emerges mainly in Lope's two epic poems with English themes, and she is also mentioned in three shorter poems included in his 1604 *Rimas* (Rhymes).⁵ The epic poems are *La Dragontea* (The Dragontea), which was first published in 1598, and *Corona trágica: vida y muerte de la serenísima reina de Escocia María Estuarda* (Tragic crown: life and death of the most serene queen of Scotland Mary Stuart), published in 1627. Both works represent ambitious attempts by Lope not only to promote himself as a learned author of epic poetry—the most prestigious genre at the time—but also to obtain patronage through them. *La Dragontea* was actually the first book ever published by Lope, and as scholars such as Elizabeth Wright,⁶ Antonio Sánchez Jiménez,⁷ and myself⁸ have pointed out, it is much more than a mere *opera prima* for the presses; it is a significant effort by Lope to obtain the favor of the young King Philip III by writing an epic poem based on the historical events surrounding the death of Sir Francis Drake, although it turned out to be a failed attempt.⁹ His later poem *Corona trágica* was dedicated instead to Pope Urban VIII, who was a great patron of the arts and had written a poem in honor of Mary Stuart when he was young. This effort garnered benefits for Lope, as he was granted the degree of Doctor of Divinity and the cross of the Order of Saint John in addition to being appointed to honorary positions in the Vatican.¹⁰

La Dragontea and the *Corona Trágica* were published almost thirty years apart, but they both appeared in the context of significant political and military tensions between Spain and England. *La Dragontea* was published in early 1598 during what is considered the final stage of the Anglo-Spanish war:¹¹ the memory of the failed 1588 attempt to invade England with a powerful Armada was still fresh, as well as that of two other unsuccessful Armadas sent in 1596 and 1597; there was also the capture and raid of the city of Cádiz in the summer of 1596, which was

one of the greatest defeats of Spain during this war with England. It is no surprise, therefore, that when news of the defeat and death of the buccaneer Francis Drake in Panama in early 1596 arrived in Spain, it was received by the general public with great relief, and Lope proceeded to write an epic poem celebrating the event. In the case of *Corona trágica*, Lope wrote it in the middle of a second war between England and Spain, declared by the English Parliament in 1624 by petition of King James after the failed trip to Spain by Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham in 1623 to propose a marriage between Charles and the Spanish Infanta María Ana. An attempt by the English to repeat the capture and raid of Cádiz in 1625 proved highly unsuccessful this time, and this military failure reinforced and lifted Spanish morale.¹² In a way, Lope rode successive waves of anti-English sentiment that pervaded Spanish society around 1598 and 1627 when he composed *La Dragontea* and *Corona trágica*. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that Lope's poetic narratives are ideologically charged.

Scholars who have approached these two poems have recurrently pointed out that Lope presents Elizabeth mainly as a heretic and a diabolical figure, thus inserting her into the context of the religious confrontation between Catholic Spain and Protestant England and linking the negative depiction of the English queen to Lope's militant Catholicism. For example, the most recent editor of *La Dragontea*, Antonio Sánchez Jiménez, states that "Lope portrays [Elizabeth] as a demonic offspring in *La Dragontea*."¹³ On the other hand, Christian Giaffreda has situated *Corona trágica* within the tradition of the "epic and religious poems that enjoyed a large success in the post-Tridentine climate that dominated Spain," and states that the portrayal of Elizabeth in this poem is done "according to the rules of the harshest Catholic propaganda."¹⁴ For Zamora Vicente, Lope's *Corona trágica* "is a huge diatribe against the queen of England" rather than solely a hagiographical celebration of Mary Stuart's death.¹⁵ Certainly, it could not have been otherwise in the religiously charged climate of the time, and Lope reflects this tone, which was present in the sources that he used,¹⁶ as well as in contemporary Italian authors who also wrote about England.¹⁷

From a purely rhetorical perspective, the passages related to Elizabeth in Lope's poems are an example of a condemning *genus demonstrativum*.

In this article I will focus on how the religious perspective is not the only component of Lope's negative construction of Elizabeth, as we may also note the political elements that play a role in these poems. As I will show, certain rhetorical and ideological aspects of how Lope presents Elizabeth are based on the figure of a bad monarch, a ruler affected by defects traditionally associated with tyrants, according to different political thinkers of the time. Lope was interested in these political ideas—especially those that had been mapped out by Spanish theorists Pedro de Ribadeneyra in his *Tratado del príncipe cristiano* (Treatise on the christian prince), published in 1595, and Juan de Mariana's *De rege et regis institutione* (On the king and the institution of kingship), published in 1599—and he used them in his plays when dealing with notions of kingship, tyranny, power, and political acts.¹⁸ This approach offers an additional layer of interpretation to the most common views of Lope's religious portrayal of this English queen, already well analyzed by Giaffreda,¹⁹ and it relates the Spanish poet's literary construction to the multifaceted image that circulated of Elizabeth I in early modern Spain, as Pazzis Pi Corrales (25) has pointed out.²⁰ By taking into account the political perspective of Elizabeth's characterization, her image can then emerge in Lope's texts in relation to the "human and divine majesty"—that is, to both the profane and the sacred, politics and religion, which were two cores of the early modern worldview and essential to political thought in Spain.²¹ This is especially true in the first third of the seventeenth century, when the messianic conflation of religion and politics gained renewed strength among certain Spanish political thinkers.²²

In this sense, Lope's mix of political and religious arguments when criticizing Elizabeth in *La Dragontea* and *Corona trágica* perfectly fits in with the public controversy that apologists and critics of both Elizabeth I and Mary Stuart had been developing for decades. As Julia Walker has stated, "however sweepingly general, gratuitously nasty, or spitefully specific the rhetoric to and about the queen on the subject of religion became, there

was at its heart a fundamental doctrinal and political debate which shook all of early modern Europe” (2). On occasions, these narratives could be clearly framed within a political discourse. Protestant apologists argued that it was legitimate to resist Mary due to the fact that her acts were those of a tyrant. This position is best exemplified by William Cecil and George Buchanan’s collaborative pamphlet *Ane Detection of the Duings of Marie Quene of Scottes*, finished around 1569 and published in London three years later, a text that “influenced how the public related to all sovereign powers by providing a definition of the tyrant and asking readers to participate in the process of judging Mary and implicitly *all* rulers by it.”²³ Lope was also not alone among Catholic writers in incorporating a political perspective into his attacks on Elizabeth, as other European apologists for Mary had a similar attitude. Such is the case of Adam Blackwood, a Scottish Catholic exiled in France, who published two books in French defending Mary and providing an account of her execution. In his 1588 *La Mort de a Royne d’Escosse, Douairière de France* (The death of a queen of Scotland, dowager of France), he defended the need for Catholics to destroy Elizabeth under the justification that she was a tyrant.²⁴ At the same time, the Parisian Catholic League mangled religion with politics by using the death of Mary to put pressure on Henry III.²⁵ In this sense, we must not forget that “Lope writes with books opened, consulting them.”²⁶ His portrayal of Elizabeth is a bookish one, as he relied on several existing sources to craft his image of the English queen.²⁷

Imperial Economies and *La Dragontea*

Queen Elizabeth plays a very minor role in Lope’s *La Dragontea*, as most of this epic poem focuses on Francis Drake’s last voyage to America, his failed attempts to attack Puerto Rico and take control of Panama, and the resistance of the Spaniards who were in charge of these garrisons. Mentions of this queen appear mainly in the first two cantos of the poem, which serve as an introduction to the story by presenting Francis Drake and the motivations that lead him to sail to Central America in 1595. First of all, in *La Dragontea* there is indeed a religious overtone in relation to the

presentation of Francis Drake and, by extension, Elizabeth I. In the first canto, Lope resorts to allegory in order to show the Divine Providence as a woman accompanied by three other women, who represent Spain, Italy, and the Indies—that is, the three major territories of Philip II's empire at the time. They present themselves before none other than God to complain that Christianity is under attack in these regions by heretics and infidels, among which England is a prime culprit. It is at this point that the first mention of Queen Elizabeth takes place, as Lope identifies her with the classical character of Medea: “behold Medea, queen of the dragon / that travels the shores of America.”²⁸ Medea was the mythological sorceress who helped Jason obtain the Golden Fleece, and Lope de Vega usually associates this character with the dragon that guarded the Fleece, as well as to extreme cruelty—since according to legend she killed her own brother in order to escape with Jason from her father's pursuit. The association of Medea with the dragon in *La Dragonteá* presents Queen Elizabeth in relation to Francis Drake, the dragon that she has unleashed upon Spanish possessions in America. This imagery implicitly enables the reader to perform an allegorical reading, one that opposes Elizabeth to the Virgin Mary, the vanquisher of the worst dragon of all—that is, the Devil—and provides a symbolic counterpoint to the evil virgin queen of England.

However, Lope does not use only religious imagery to construct Queen Elizabeth as a character in this poem, as other elements also come into play. This classical reference to Medea, specifically her association with cruelty and destruction, contributes to portray a more political view of this English ruler. For example, the first reference to Drake in the poem presents him not as an active privateer, but as a retired one:

That Dragon of the cruel Medea,
Francis Drake, tired of traversing
the same latitudes that the golden sun
travels from the Aries of gold to Pisces,
or—if certain rumors are true—

retired because of hatred of the Queen,
found in his leisure his largest treasure,
with envy shrinking his crescent moon.²⁹

Lope offers two explanations for Drake's retirement as a privateer: he was either tired of sailing the seas or, as rumor had it, he had fallen out with the queen, as she had listened to courtiers who were envious of Drake's success and had badmouthed him. Historically, these were the Earl of Arundel, Lord Sussex, and Lord Burghley, who did not agree with Drake's methods and rejected his attempts to gain their respect.³⁰ This reference to envy may seem very minor in the context of the poem, but the *topos* of the court as a space of jealousy, plots, and machinations is a theme present in many other works by Lope; it emerges again in *La Dragontea* in a later allusion to these enemies of Drake.³¹ By mentioning that Drake could have lost the favor of the queen due to his enemies' intrigues, Lope is indirectly criticizing Elizabeth, as she is presented as a monarch who has lent her ears to courtiers who criticize others out of envy. In other words, she is a flawed monarch, as she does not necessarily act according to truth but can be influenced by the schemes of envious courtiers.

The previous association of Elizabeth with Medea and the dragon of the Golden Fleece also stresses the queen's role and responsibility as sponsor of Francis Drake and of his corsair activities in America. Lope presents this idea first by resorting to the image of the dragon that obtains its power from the full moon: "The Queen is the moon that today grants you poison / to harm Indians and Spaniards." He also portrays Elizabeth as the Greek goddess Pallas (or Athena): "[Drake is] Pallas' dragon, the glorious queen / [whose] wings protect the queen so similar to Pallas."³² This goddess was occasionally portrayed in classical art accompanied by a dragon, so Lope is stressing that Drake's actions as a corsair who ravaged Spanish ships carrying American silver and gold took place under the auspices of the English queen. This reference also connects with a famous element of Elizabeth's mythos, that of the Virgin Queen, which crystallized in her depiction as the moon goddess from the 1580s onward.³³

It is interesting to note that Lope's indirect reference to this significant element of Elizabeth's corporeal and political imagery is done here with a rather neutral perspective from which he does not attempt to criticize her the way he does years later in *Corona trágica*, as we will see below.

Elizabeth's responsibility regarding Drake's activities is further emphasized when the privateer, after having been convinced by Greed in a dream that he should set sail again to America, presents himself before the queen and requests her support for a new expedition to steal the gold from Spain's possessions in America. Drake's speech, and more specifically the burning desire for gold that it generates in Elizabeth, reverses the queen's previous attitude toward Drake. Despite the corsair's enemies at court, she addresses Parliament to obtain support for the expedition:

What usually freedom and audacity
moves beyond hope
lifted the Queen's thoughts,
who is driven by the greed of gold.
She presents her intentions to the Parliament
so that lightning can fly out of her hands
and, despite the outsmarted envious,
two generals are named.³⁴

Greed is therefore the driving force behind Elizabeth's actions and her support for Drake's activities in America. He is her pawn, a bolt of lightning that shoots from her hands. She is the mastermind behind Drake's attacks on Spanish possessions because she desires American gold. Religion plays no part in the way Lope presents her motivations in assisting the English privateer in these verses of *La Dragontea*.³⁵ Elizabeth is portrayed, in the light of imperial and economic politics, as an adversary of Spain's interests in their American empire, not only as a religious enemy, which is very much on a par with the promotion of an imperial theme surrounding the queen's public image after 1579 and the defeat of the Armada in 1588.³⁶ What's more, whereas ideal monarchs are characterized by being liberal in their use of money, greed is one of the traits that Juan de Mariana uses

to distinguish monarchy from tyranny in his treatise *De rege et regis institutione* (1599), as the latter is a political system that eventually “falls into all kinds of vices, especially greed, fierceness and avarice.”³⁷ This political perspective, albeit still minor in Lope’s *La Dragontea*, will play a much larger role when he comes back to the figure of Elizabeth thirty years later.

Tyranny, Deceit, and the Political Body in *La Corona Trágica*

Compared to her treatment in Lope’s 1598 epic account of Drake’s demise, Elizabeth plays a much larger role in *Corona trágica*, as she is the main antagonist of Mary Queen of Scots, the heroine of this poem, and Lope’s posthumous representation of the English queen is much more detailed. The first appearance of Elizabeth in this poem is a twenty-four verse section³⁸ that is built on several rebukes of the queen based on religious antagonism: she is identified with biblical figures associated with idolatry and infidelity such as Jezebel, Athaliah, and King Herod. However, together with this religious-based imaginary of Elizabeth we find that Lope also includes a political perspective in his criticism of the queen. Further ahead, in the first book of *Corona trágica*, Mary Queen of Scots recounts her past ordeals to the pope’s messenger; and in her speech she accuses Elizabeth of having participated in a conspiracy against Philip II when he was married to Mary Tudor: “Philip was king, and England had / with the Spanish king the Roman faith, / afterwards Elizabeth made secret war on them, / but her tyrannous treason was discovered.”³⁹ In these verses Lope uses the adjective “tyrannous” to describe Elizabeth’s attempts to overthrow Mary and Philip, since treason was condemnable from a political view for two reasons: it is a way of trying to seize the throne from those who were considered legitimate rulers; and it is a type of deceit that could be associated with Machiavelli’s notion of a pragmatist political landscape.⁴⁰

This reference to Elizabeth’s attempt to obtain the crown of England through treason opens the way for Lope to relate how King Philip pardoned her after the discovery of her participation in a plot against him. The Spanish monarch emerges as a forgiving monarchical figure,

characterized by leniency and mercy when dealing with a political and religious adversary. His figure stands in stark contrast to Elizabeth's, who appears extremely ungrateful to the king to whom she owes her life, as Lope reminds the reader, for Elizabeth later encourages privateers to attack Spanish possessions in order to steal their gold and spices. As we have seen previously in *La Dragontea*, greed is presented as the queen's innermost vice, which personalizes the economic and military conflict between Spain and England in their fight to control the resources obtained from Spain's American and Asian colonies. Economic imperialism and resource control emerges in this passage as a key feature of Elizabeth's behavior as queen, on a par with her religious faith:

Elizabeth handsomely paid back her freedom and life
 if now the gold of the Antarctic seas,
 which cost so much spilled
 Spanish blood, is used to gild her palaces;
 and she is not even satisfied with this, since she dares
 to penetrate the smells of dawn,
 for the sun, if made of gold, in the celestial wall
 of her greed will not be safe.⁴¹

More importantly, the aforementioned reference to Elizabeth's "tyrannous treason" is not the only occasion in *Corona trágica* in which Lope explicitly associates the English queen and her actions with tyranny, therefore branding her directly as an extreme example of a bad ruler. We find nine instances where this happens in Lope's epic poem.⁴² Sometimes the word serves simply as a charged epithet for Elizabeth: "tyrannical Elizabeth."⁴³ Other times it serves to justify Lope's censure of the queen: "but the tyrant should be aware that someday / Elizabeth will be the defendant and Mary the judge."⁴⁴ A specific example of Elizabeth's tyrannical actions is given when Lope accuses her of having issued laws for the sole purpose of damaging Mary's reputation and preventing her followers from rallying behind her:

Elizabeth makes up laws, because there were none
against Mary's innocent heart.
By royal decree she determines
through public announcements
that anything that was discussed publicly or in secret,
conspiracies, weapons, and treasons,
was to be attributed to the deeds and instigations
of the Queen of Scots. Such fabrications
to end that holy life!⁴⁵

These laws were not really arbitrary, as in 1586 the Babington plot was discovered, whose objective was to assassinate Queen Elizabeth and free Mary Queen of Scots with the help of an invasion from Spanish forces and the French Catholic League. Mary was indeed implicated in this plot, as she was informed of it and gave her consent.⁴⁶ However, from Lope's perspective, the queen's use of the law for her own personal interests is something that must be censured, as it goes against one of the monarch's responsibilities: "it is just that the Kings / show respect to the law."⁴⁷

The connection of Elizabeth with treason is stressed again when she is associated with James Stewart, First Earl of Moray, who became Regent of Scotland in 1567. Stewart fought against the supporters of Queen Mary and delivered the famous Casket Letters during the 1568 York conference to incriminate Mary in the murder of her husband, Lord Darnley, and therefore reduce her support among Scottish nobility. The Casket letters—eight love letters and twelve poems that Mary allegedly wrote to the Earl of Bothwell during the last months her husband was alive—were denounced as forgeries by some of her supporters at the time. However, they were used as evidence of Mary's guilt and to legitimate James Stewart's regency in Scotland during the minority of James VI.⁴⁸ In this passage, Lope echoes this sentiment regarding the actions of James Stewart, who is presented as a traitor supported by Elizabeth because she too wants to reign: "[James] believed he would be king, convinced of the favor / of cunning Elizabeth, who desired / the same thing as the

traitor she trusts.”⁴⁹ By presenting Elizabeth as “astuta” (cunning), Lope describes her with a trait that was associated with Machiavellian politics at the time—the use of simulation⁵⁰—and he specifically accuses her of using a traitor in order to achieve her political objectives. This tactic is condemnable, as Spanish political theorists of the time rejected the use of treason as a valid way to achieve political aims. Juan de Mariana dedicates a whole chapter to the importance of loyalty for the welfare of a kingdom, and he warns rulers of resorting to traitors to carry out their policies since, as historical precedents proved, they could eventually turn against the monarchs at any time: “if the prince therefore desires the wellbeing of the republic, he should never trust traitors.”⁵¹

In several sections of *Corona trágica* the idea of treason is also linked to the idea of deceit, which guides Elizabeth’s actions in her attempt to mislead Queen Mary and secure control of England. For example, when Lope has Mary talk about her return to Scotland in 1561 from France after the death of her husband, King Francis II, she mentions how Elizabeth sent an embassy in order to offer her a truce and lure her back from France, although Elizabeth had no intention of following through with this offer of peace: “There also the false Elizabeth / requested our peace through her embassy, / for it is easy to believe / a person desired by deceit.”⁵² The rhetoric of dishonesty emerges in these four verses through the use of the words “fingida” (false) and “engaño” (deceit) in relation to Elizabeth’s promises toward her niece, a textual strategy that Lope uses again shortly afterward, when he recreates a scene in which Elizabeth sends Mary a token of her affection—a ring—which Elizabeth tells Mary to send back to her if she needed her help. This historical fact is presented by the poet as another example of Elizabeth’s deceitful political intentions, as is stressed by the use of the adjective “fingido” (false) twice in four verses: “With the false congratulations she sends me / a diamond divided into two parts, / a symbol of friendship, which promised / a firm love that was always false”; and again in the following stanza, this time to describe Elizabeth’s innermost intentions as symbolized by the reference to her heart: “I then send her a fine diamond /

in which, with unique artifice, / a heart has been carved, more similar / to my true heart than to her false one.”⁵³

There are five other passages in *Corona trágica* where Elizabeth is explicitly accused of being deceitful. I will point out one last example, as it relates to the complex net of erudite references that link the English queen, and many characters of the poem, with men and women of classical mythology, history, the Bible, and a larger array of encyclopedic references. As Giaffreda⁵⁴ has pointed out, this typical Baroque abundance of erudite allusions is especially present in Lope de Vega’s epic poetry. It is therefore significant to find that the construction of Elizabeth as a deceitful ruler also emerges on this rhetorical level of the poem, since it is part of Lope’s elevated style. When Queen Mary is about to die, the epic narrator intervenes with a meta-stanza that reflects on the nature of the events:

A woman——false hyena——another woman
deceives with shadows of piety?
an Egyptian crocodile who fills with tears
the fecund sand of the fertile Nile;
with no war, with no victory, with no great deed,
she condemns her to miserable death;
she is a beast, a tiger, a mountain, a fury, a snake,
but stop your weeping, Euterpe.⁵⁵

In this hyperbolic stanza I would like to point out the identification of Elizabeth with a hyena and a crocodile in the first four verses, which in the Renaissance served as symbols of deceit and tyranny: the hyena was believed to be capable of imitating human voices in order to lure shepherds close enough to attack and eat them, whereas it was said that crocodiles imitated human tears and lamentations so their victims would approach them.⁵⁶ This imagery applied to Elizabeth allows Lope to depict her as a queen who, through her words and letters, acted deceitfully toward Mary and lured her to her doom.⁵⁷ In sharp contrast to this image of Elizabeth, we find Pedro de Ribadeneyra’s demand that a true ruler should never lie: “As a result of this [i.e., the prince must be faithful to religion] he must

not lie, because the word of a prince has to be like the word of God: true, certain, constant, and secure.”⁵⁸

A final key element in the political representation of Elizabeth focuses on matters pertaining to the body through lineage and desire. In the first references to the English queen in *Corona trágica*, Lope mentions how, as daughter of Anne Boleyn, her birth is considered to have taken place out of wedlock—the “incestuous birth of the Harpy.”⁵⁹ This is a reference that Lope might have based on historical events, but here it serves mainly to undermine the validity of Elizabeth’s claim to the English throne and tarnishes her legitimacy as a ruler.⁶⁰ Lope also refers to how Elizabeth initially did not want to accept the crown of England because she was afraid that she would not be accepted as the illegitimate daughter of King Henry VIII and—even worse—because she refused to marry for fear that, if she did so, she would lose the kingdom to her husband: “not daring a bastard succession / nor marriage because she was afraid / to lose the empire by proclaiming a king.”⁶¹ Elizabeth is presented as a ruler who is more interested in maintaining absolute power than in looking after the common good, as she rejects marriage and, therefore, rejects instituting a legitimate heir. This contravenes one of the basic responsibilities of the good monarch, who must always look after the future of his people and never let his emotions overrule his actions, as Juan de Mariana explains in *De rege et regis institutione* when dealing with the topic of naming an heir for a kingdom: “[the king], when naming an heir, must not be influenced by his personal feelings, as he must always attend, first and foremost, to the kingdom’s wellbeing.”⁶²

This critical reference to Elizabeth’s rejection of marriage connects with the image of the Virgin Queen, which is ridiculed by Lope. He transforms her supposedly chaste body into one of exacerbated eroticism, as he refers to her on several occasions as lewd and mentions the rumors of her many alleged lovers:

The honest virgin, an unjust name
that lasciviously she desired, generated an opposite effect,

to time, to truth, to the just Heaven,
from whom no secret can be hidden;
she who surrendered majesty to desire,
subject to the men of her love,
not a chaste moon, but a moon of changes,
for she was not even constant in love.⁶³

This criticism of the queen's love life is not so much an attack on the official version of Elizabeth's sexuality and virginity as it is based on the idea of a monarch who is led by passion and not by the dignity of her responsibilities as a ruler. The verse by Lope—"la que rindió la majestad al gusto" (she who surrendered majesty to desire)—would activate in the reader of seventeenth-century Spain associations with the figure of the lascivious tyrant, a figure popularized by theater in plays by Lope himself and other playwrights of his time, as scholars such as Joan Oleza and Rebecca Bushnell have studied in relation to both the Spanish and English theatrical traditions. This link between lust and tyranny is common in political thought of the time. For example, Juan de Mariana states that the tyrant "has his greatest power in the fact of being able to wildly devote himself to his passions [. . .] he does not consider improper any evil [. . .] he commits all types of crimes, he destroys the property of the powerful, he rapes chastity."⁶⁴ The tyrant is a ruler who only cares for his or her own depravities: "[he seeks] not the public welfare, but his own benefit, his pleasures, and his vices."⁶⁵ Similarly, Pedro de Ribadeneyra considers that "the tyrant has no other law but his own will [. . .] he answers to neither God nor faith nor justice [. . .] he overcomes [women's] honesty."⁶⁶

These attacks reveal the early modern masculine prejudices toward women as suffering inconstant sexual desire, which is implicit in Lope's typical allusions to the ever-changing moon. In Lope's verses, Elizabeth's private passions dominate her public responsibilities, and this personal defect identifies her with the tradition of the tyrant. Lope's criticism echoes accusations, existing even during Queen Elizabeth's reign, that doubted her virginity and presented her as a "lewd woman" and an "arrant

whore,”⁶⁷ thus merging concrete political accusations with ideological representations of women. After all, Lope was not the only one to use this rhetorical assimilation of tyranny and female lust. Elizabethan apologist George Buchanan (1506–82) did the same when writing about Mary in *Ane Detectioun of the Duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes* (1572), where he used “small pieces of historical and narrative evidence, scandalous and often spurious, in order to build a character of Mary as a woman out of control of her passions,”⁶⁸ since her three marriages could be seen as a symptom of her inability to regulate her desire—especially when compared to the Virgin Queen—and so she was far from being able to rule based on moral rectitude.

Conclusion

Although in both *La Dragontea* and *Corona trágica* Lope creates an image of Elizabeth I that is filtered by religious animosity and—as critics have pointed out, especially in relation to the second of these poems—condemns her as an enemy of the Catholic Church and of Spain, it is also true that not all the elements that come into play in the portrayal of Elizabeth are based solely on religious partisanship. Among Lope’s texts we also find references to patterns of behavior, defects, and actions by the English queen that are grounded in political ideas of the time and that were used in similar ways by both apologists and critics of Elizabeth beyond Spain’s borders. Lope constructs an image of Elizabeth based partially on the models of the bad ruler: one who acts moved by greed, lust, tyranny, treason, and deceit. These are ideas rooted in early modern discourses surrounding the limits of power and the characteristics of different approaches to exercising political responsibility—and, indirectly, of when it was legitimate to confront a monarch. Looming behind this representation of Queen Elizabeth lies, of course, the political and economic confrontation that existed between England and Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of which Lope’s writings are a literary and cultural reflection.

NOTES

1. This article has benefited from my participation in the research projects funded by the Spanish MINECO with the references FFI2015-71441-RED C, FFI2015-66216-P, and FFI2015-65197-C3-1-P.
2. Sánchez Jiménez, "Lope"; Schevill, "Lope de Vega"; Millé Giménez, "Lope de Vega."
3. For the way England is portrayed in Lope de Vega's theater, see García-Reidy ("Construcción"). In these plays Elizabeth I does not appear as a character insofar as the plots are imaginary rather than historical.
4. Samson, "A Fine Romance."
5. These poems are the sonnet "Famosa armada de estandartes llena" (Famous armada full of banners), the romance "A la dorada cabaña" (At the golden cabin), and the epitaph "De Isabel de Inglaterra" (On Elizabeth of England) (Vega Carpio, *Rimas*, 175, 475-86, 523).
6. Wright, *Pilgrimage*, 24-51.
7. Sánchez, *Dragontea*, 13-79.
8. García Reidy, "En torno."
9. The publication of this poem was riddled with problems, as it was denied permission to be published in the kingdom of Castile two different times: first in late 1597 and again in early 1599, on both occasions probably due to historiographical reasons. To overcome these difficulties, Lope had to publish this poem first in the Kingdom of Valencia, in 1598, and later somewhat surreptitiously as part of a volume with *La hermosura de Angélica* (Angelica's beauty) and his *Rimas* in 1602 and 1604, and again together with *La hermosura de Angélica* in 1605 (García-Reidy, "En torno," 150; Sánchez Jiménez, *Dragontea*, 72-79).
10. Carreño-Rodríguez and Carreño, *Corona trágica*, 13-21.
11. García, "Peace with England."
12. Croft, *King James*, 117-30.
13. "Lope retrata [a Isabel] como un engendro demoniaco en *La Dragontea*" (Sánchez Jiménez, *Dragontea*, 197). Unless otherwise noted, all translations in this article are my own.
14. "poemi epico-religiosi che godettero di ampia fortuna nel clima post-tridentino dominante in Spagna" (Giaffreda, "Corona," 136); "secondo i canoni della più aspra propaganda cattolica" (Giaffreda, *Corona*, 286).

15. “[el poema de Lope] es una enorme diatriba contra la reina de Inglaterra” (Zamora Vicente, 160).
16. Giaffreda, “Corona,” 147–59.
17. Villani, “From Mary.”
18. McKendrick, *Playing the King*, 15–40; Hughes, *Monarcas*. Including instances when Lope depicts on stage queens who act in tyrannical ways, such as in *Burlas de amor* (Love’s tricks), from 1587–1595; *Imperial de Otón* (Otho’s empire), from 1597; *El conde Fernán González* (The Count Fernán González), probably from 1610–1612; or *El animal de Hungría* (The beast of Hungary), probably from 1611–1612 and with some English references in it (Oleza *et al.*).
19. Giaffreda, “Corona.”
20. Eduardo Olid has recently examined how Miguel de Cervantes’s depiction of Elizabeth I in his short novel *La española inglesa* (The Spanish-English lady) reflects a significant influence of certain aspects of early modern Spanish political discourse, although Cervantes uses it to offer “an in-between human sovereign who acts reasonably” (76).
21. Howard, *The Reception of Machiavelli*. “la majestad humana y la divina” (Vega, *Corona*, 5.361).
22. Aranda Pérez, “Política,” 404–05.
23. Staines, *The Tragic Histories*, 29.
24. Staines, *The Tragic Histories*, 96–98.
25. Wilkinson, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 103–27.
26. “Lope escribe con los libros abiertos, consultando” (Carreño-Rodríguez and Carreño, 39).
27. For an overview of the sources used by Lope for *La Dragontea* and *Corona trágica*, see Sánchez Jiménez (*Dragontea*, 46–65), Giaffreda (“Corona,” 147–59), and Carreño-Rodríguez and Carreño (39–47). Although there were a number of English Catholics who went to Spain to escape from religious persecution in England and played a role in the development of Spanish international policies, as well as in the founding of the Colleges of Saint Alban in Valladolid and Saint Gregory in Seville (Loomie, 191–228), there is no information on Lope’s possible contact with these Englishmen during his life.
28. “mira la reina del Dragón, Medea, / que las costas de América pasea” (Vega, *Dragontea*, 167–68).
29. “Aquel Dragón de la cruel Medea, / Francisco Draque, de correr cansado / los mismos paralelos que pasea / del Aries de oro al Pez el sol dorado /

- o —cuando cierta fama y verdad sea—, / en odio de la Reina retirado,
/ tenía en ocio su mayor fortuna, / menguando invidias su creciente luna”
(Vega, *Dragontea*, 225–32).
30. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 217; Wright, “From Drake,” 35.
 31. Sánchez, *Dragontea*, 825–28. See, for example, Lope’s statement that “la envidia es hija de la corte” (envy is daughter of the court) (Vega, *Corona merecida*, 600).
 32. “La Reina es luna que hoy te da veneno / para el indiano y español estrago” (*Dragontea*, 561–62); “dragón de Palas, Reina esclarecida / [cuyas] alas guardan la Reina semejante a Palas” (522, 551).
 33. Strong, *Gloriana*, 125–28.
 34. “Lo que una libertad y atrevimiento / fuera de la esperanza mover suele / levantó de la Reina el pensamiento, / a quien del oro la codicia impele. / Propone su intinción al Parlamento / para que el rayo de sus manos vuele / y, a pesar de los émulos burlados, / salen dos generales decretados” (*Dragontea*, 841–48).
 35. In contrast, religion and imperial economy are mingled together in Lope’s epitaph to Elizabeth published in his *Rimas*, whose first verses read as follows: “Aquí yace Jezabel, / aquí la nueva Atalía / del oro antártico arpía, / del mar incendio cruel” (Here lies Jezebel, / here the new Athaliah, / harpy of the Antarctic gold / cruel fire of the sea) (Vega Carpio, *Rimas*, 523).
 36. Strong, *Gloriana*, 91–93, 101–107, 131–33.
 37. “cae en todo género de vicios, principalmente en la codicia, en la ferocidad y la avaricia” (Mariana, 477).
 38. Vega Carpio, *Corona*, 1.129–152.
 39. “Reinó Felipe, y tuvo Ingalaterra / con el rey español la fe romana, / luego Isabel les hizo oculta guerra, / mas descubriose la traición tirana” (*Corona*, 1.585–88).
 40. Velázquez Delgado, *Bajo el signo*, 81–84.
 41. “Bien le pagó la libertad y vida / si en los martes antárticos ahora / del oro, que costó tanta vertida / sangre española, sus palacios dora; / ni aun de esto se contenta, que atrevida / penetra los olores del aurora, / que el sol, si es oro, en el celeste muro / de su codicia no ha de estar seguro” (*Corona*, 1.593–600). The mention of “the smells of dawn” is related to Queen Elizabeth’s consent for English merchants to sail to the Indian Ocean to trade starting in 1591. This eventually led to the creation of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading in East India in 1600, which received a Royal

- Charter from Queen Elizabeth on December 31, 1600 (Carreño-Rodríguez and Carreño, 193).
42. They can be found in 1.195, 1.588, 2.30, 3.974, 3.1061, 4.115, 5.357, 5.519, and 5.1054.
 43. Vega Carpio, *Corona*, 5.1054. "Isabel tirana" (*Corona*, 5.1054).
 44. "pero el tirano advierta que algún día / será reo Isabel, jüeza María" (*Corona*, 5.519–20).
 45. "inventa leyes, porque no la había, / contra el pecho inocente de María. / Cualquiera cosa por real decreto / determinó con públicos pregones / que se tratase en público o secreto, / conjuraciones, armas y traiciones, / se entendiese por obra y por conceto / de la Reina de Escocia. ¡Qué invenciones / para acabar aquella santa vida!" (*Corona*, 4.134–44).
 46. Guy, *Queen of Scots*, 466–77.
 47. "es justo que los Reyes / enseñen el respeto de las leyes" (*Corona*, 3.207–08).
 48. Lewis, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 29–34; Guy, *Queen of Scots*, 384–404.
 49. "[Jacobo] pensó reinar, en el favor fiado / de la astuta Isabel, que pretendía / lo mismo que el traidor de quien se fía" (*Corona*, 1.638–40).
 50. Howard, *The Reception of Machiavelli*, 92–93.
 51. "Si desea, pues, el príncipe, la salud de la república, no ponga nunca la menor confianza en los traidores" (Mariana, 562).
 52. "Allí también solicitó fingida / nuestra paz Isabel por su embajada, / que es fácil cosa para ser creída / la que es del engaño deseada" (*Corona*, 1.681–84).
 53. "Con el fingido parabién me envía / un diamante en dos partes dividido, / símbolo de amistad, que prometía / el firme amor que siempre fue fingido" (*Corona*, 1.753–55); "Yo entonces de un finísimo diamante / con artificio singular le envió / labrado un corazón, más semejante / que al suyo falso al verdadero mío" (*Corona*, 1.761–64).
 54. Giaffreda, *Corona*, 47.
 55. "¿Una mujer otra mujer engaña / con sombra de piedad, fingida hiena? / que crocodilo egipcio en llanto baña / del fértil Nilo la fecunda arena; / sin guerra, sin victoria, sin hazaña / a miserable muerte la condena; / es fiera, es tigre, es monte, es furia, es sierpe, / pero dejad las lágrimas, Euterpe" (*Corona*, 5.921–28).
 56. Morby, *La Dorotea*, 97–98.
 57. Deceit is also used in Lope's religious depiction of Elizabeth, especially when he identifies her with a siren, the mythological creature—half-woman half-bird or fish—that attracted sailors to their doom with their songs. Lope uses

- this image in relation to Elizabeth in *Corona trágica* (“herética sirena” [heretic siren]), (*Corona*, 4.101), just as he had already used it in the sonnet on the Armada published in *Rimas*: “Famosa armada de estandartes llena, / [...] que del cristiano Ulises la fe sola / te saca de la margen española, / contra la falsedad de una sirena” (Famous armada full of banners, / [...] which the faith of the Spanish Ulysses / has made you leave the Spanish shore / against the deceit of a mermaid) (Vega Carpio, *Rimas*, 175). Here “deceit” is associated with the falsehood attributed to the Church of England and Protestantism in general.
58. “Tras esto [i.e., el príncipe debe ser fiel a la religión] se sigue el no mentir, así porque la palabra del príncipe debe ser como una palabra de Dios, verdadera, cierta, constante y segura” (Ribadeneyra, 525).
 59. “incestuoso parto de la Harpía” (*Corona*, 1.133).
 60. In 1536, Parliament declared Henry VIII’s two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, to be illegitimate, and rumors circulated that Elizabeth was not really Henry’s daughter (Loades, 35–37). This situation lasted until the Third Succession Act of Henry VIII, passed in 1543, which returned Mary and Elizabeth to the line of succession behind their half-brother Edward.
 61. “no se atreviendo a sucesión bastarda / ni a casarse el temor de que podía, / nombrando rey, perder el solo imperio” (*Corona*, 1.141–43).
 62. “El [rey] no debe dejarse llevar al instituir heredero por sus afectos personales, debe siempre atender, ante de todo, a la salud de reino” (Mariana, 475).
 63. “La honesta virgen, que este nombre injusto / lasciva pretendió, contrario efeto / al tiempo, a la verdad, al Cielo justo, / a quien oculto no ha de haber secreto; / la que rindió la majestad al gusto / a los ministros de su amor sujeto, / no luna casta, en las mudanzas luna, / que aun no tuvo en querer firmeza alguna” (*Corona*, 5.49–56).
 64. “hace consistir su mayor poder en poder entregarse desenfrenadamente a sus pasiones . . . no cree indecorosa maldad alguna . . . comete todo género de crímenes, destruye la hacienda de los poderosos, viola la castidad” (Mariana, 477).
 65. “[persigue] no la utilidad pública, sino su propia utilidad, sus placeres y sus vicios” (Mariana, 479).
 66. “el tirano no tiene otra ley sino su voluntad . . . no tiene cuenta con Dios ni con fe ni con justicia . . . triunfa de la honestidad de [las mujeres]” (Ribadeneyra, 532).
 67. Levin, *The Heart and Stomach*, 76, 83.
 68. Staines, *The Tragic Histories*, 29.

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CHAPTER 7

Elizabeth I and Spanish Poetic Satyr

Political Context, Propaganda, and the
Social Dimension of the Armada

JESÚS-DAVID JEREZ-GÓMEZ

As Spain made costly preparations for the invasion of England in the years prior to 1588, the first of a few ill-fated attempts to subjugate Queen Elizabeth I, Spaniards of the time may have listened to and memorized the verses of a popular ballad, or *letrilla*, titled “Hermano Perico,” later popularized in the anonymous *Entremés de los romances*. Soldiers may have even sung these verses as they embarked on the ships of the Armada:

My brother Bartolo
Goes to England
To kill the Drake
And to seize the Queen.
[He] has to bring me
From the war
A little Lutheran
In a chain
And a Lutheran woman
To madam grandmother.¹

It is not difficult to imagine that the Armada’s enterprise involved everybody and impacted all social levels, as evidenced by popular anonymous verses or *romancillos* like this one. The aforementioned verses recollect the levy that was imposed on the common man by royal decree

of King Philip II to fill the ranks of the army needed for the Armada. However, the same verses are also capable of sarcastically asserting the invasion while exorcising the main characters at play: Queen Elizabeth I, the Lutheran Church, and the feared Francis Drake. The popular form was the most favorable for quick transmission and memorization; as we see here, metric and rhyme illustrates the extent to which the Armada's enterprise and religious demonization of the other was echoed in Spanish society of the time.

As the composition demonstrates, poetry had the express purpose of voicing collective anti-English sentiment, and echoing the terror caused by the English threat, while setting an *idée fixe* that united the masses against a demonized enemy: "to kill the Drake / and to seize the Queen." As Carlos Gómez Centurión notes, the propaganda apparatus, with which the poetic genre was to engage, mirrored the English anti-Spanish apogee measured by a great volume of pamphlets and broadside ballads that originated with English publicists and propagandists.²

Other popular verses produced in the context of the Armada's events echo this message, such as Juan de Mesa's *Romances*, dedicated to the Armada and published in the very same year of 1588. His lengthy composition, "Romance del Bastimento" (Ballad of the victuals), meticulously reviews all the preparations, soldiers, and supplies that were amassed for the invasion. In these verses, dedicated to King Philip II, we are reminded of the prominence of the enterprise that was above all to pay due service to God: "Invincible and of memory / Philip King of Spain / the high King sovereign / would give you health and Victory."³ All the regions that contributed to the collective effort of the Armada are listed in the poem, uniting them in a common purpose while acknowledging their singularities, thus providing a colorful depiction of the diverse contributions and peculiar skills that each province and state brought to the enterprise. Of the extensive series of verses, the first stanza provides an example of the colloquial tone of the popular ballad, which confirms the propaganda purpose behind its composition and, crucially, the need to demonstrate everyone's participation in the enterprise of the Armada:

Listen all those born
The plenty provisions
That carries the strong fleet
Of the great earnest Lion
Of biscuit and victuals
That here will be declared
Of tuna fish and oil
And vinegar that has been collected
And of cheese and of bacon
Cured meat that has carried
And many barrels of wine
Precious chickpea and bean
And also of so much rice
And where it has come from
I start by the biscuit
That Andalucia has given
Which is twelve thousand hundredweight
Of seasoned biscuit
And Malaga the famous,
Twenty-seven thousand has supplied [. . .]⁴

As we will see in this chapter, Spanish satirical verses produced in the context of the religious and political confrontation between Spain and England reveal that poetry operated as an instrument of the state intended to create and maintain favorable public opinion that would back the Crown and support its campaign against England. The religious and political discourse gave rise to the Spanish Black Legend, and a prolific production of both anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic literature also permeated the pamphleteering dialectic emerging from the conflict between Spain and England. This battle of mutual denigration, preceding the disaster of the Armada, was fueled by the religious and political interests that devastated the economy of Philip II's empire and led to various bankruptcies. The Spanish anti-English discourse and the portrayal of Queen Elizabeth I

followed the propaganda machinery trend already being exploited by English, Dutch, and French Protestants and Calvinists.

As we have seen, the Armada's assault on England demanded the collective support of the entire nation in what was one of the costliest enterprises of King Philip's reign. In order to muster the Spanish nation to the monarch's purpose, and according to the leading role that poetry had in court and on the streets, many poetic compositions were produced in different genres, including satirical verse. Renowned and popular poets, often under the veil of pseudonyms and the typical anonymity of the satirical genre, endorsed the ideological anti-Elizabethan dialectic against Protestant England, giving voice to the Spanish Catholic discourse in various poetic forms such as the ballad and the epic. This chapter will show how known examples in this vein by Lope de Vega, Miguel de Cervantes, and Luis de Góngora, along with other lesser-known poets, portray the political and poetic context in which these compositions were created. Spanish propaganda, despite being ephemeral by nature of its genre and transmission, preserved in poetic form an image of Elizabeth I configured by the political and religious tensions of the time that reflects a Spanish collective mind troubled by the need to align itself with Catholicism. To the modern reader, the survival of these compositions demonstrates the leading role that poetry played in the early modern period: poetry created an image of the other that established itself in the collective conscience of the nation.

When Queen Elizabeth I finally chose Protestantism as the official religion of England, the decision heavily influenced her international politics. Her support for the reformist and Protestant side of her court positioned her against the Catholic sector and therefore against Catholic Spain. In Leticia Álvarez Recio's view, this led to a series of political repercussions driven largely by pressing economic interests, such as the affiliation with Calvinists in Flanders, which compelled England to take sides against the Spanish.⁵ This political stance had to be justified publicly both in England and in European nations, for which purpose the queen's image and her discourse were consciously orchestrated by the Elizabethan court and her propaganda agents.

Since before the Medieval Ages and the invention of the printing press, the written and printed word conferred authority and truth regardless of its veracity. Much of this power attributed to the written word had to do with superstition and the manipulative intentions of those who had dominion over the text and literary culture. David Freedberg reminds us of the power and influence that images have over people based on superstition and magical attributes that surround figurative images (432).⁶ Similarly, the printed word in the service of propaganda maximized the limitations imposed by the media, censorship, and prosecution of dissent, in an attempt to manipulate the masses. At the same time, it created cohesion and unity among those opposing the official discourse or aligning publicly against the enemy of the state. In one instance related to the alliance between England and the Low Countries against Spain, we see how current events led to the production of propaganda and satirical narratives aiming to proclaim a political stance. Along with Elizabeth's protection and support for the rebellion in Flanders—granting safety to exiles and intervening actively in the conflict—propaganda ran its course on both sides, employing satirical discourses. The following example is an illustration depicting the situation of the Netherlands in 1579 and the stance adopted by each political figure. This particular engraving, of obvious burlesque undertones, represents the nations involved in the conflict around a cow, which signifies Flanders, being ridden by Philip II, while it is being fed by Queen Elizabeth I, milked by William of Orange, and pulled by the tail by the Duke of Anjou. The note accompanying the illustration states,

Not longe time since I saw a cowe. / Did Flanders represente / Upon
 whose backe Kinge Phillip rode / As being malecontent. / The Queene
 of England giving hay / Where in the cow did feede. / As one that was
 her greatest helpe. / In her distresse and neede. / The Prince of Orange
 milkt / And made his purse the pay. / The cow did shyte in Monsieur /
 While he did hold her tayl.⁷

The verses appearing with the illustration offer a humorous depiction of the confronted parties, presenting Philip II much diminished in size compared

to the cow beneath him, as if he were a capricious child tormenting the animal. In contrast, the queen's natural proportions and composure reveals her to be the benefactor, while Orange and Anjou are not as favorably represented, appearing as annoying opportunists. The perspective embedded in this annotated illustration implies an English source and propaganda agenda. This example of satirical discourse employing image and verse was designed, as in many other cases of the same genre, to sway the opinion of its audience while allowing them to subscribe to a political stance by publicly reading and listening to the composition. The aforementioned illustration is a production of the political maneuvering carried out by the Protestant group led by the Duke of Leicester in order to influence the queen to intervene in favor of their rebellion, which occurred in 1585 with the Treaty of Nonsuch Palace in Surrey. The military and economic support offered to the United Provinces, amounting to one-fourth of the cost of the conflict, allowed England, in exchange, to secure the cities of Ostende, Brielle, and Vlissingen, subsequently to be governed by Robert Dudley, Duke of Leicester.⁸

Despite being welcomed as liberators, especially by the Protestants and thanks to a strong propaganda campaign, disputes and discontent broke out due to tensions between English soldiers and the local population over the imposition of heavy taxation. As Ingrid Schulze reports, the Dutch, convinced that Elizabeth's true motives were to take over the Provinces, rebelled against the Duke of Leicester and English tyranny (Schulze 48). English involvement was interpreted in Spain as a declaration of war, fostering support for the Armada invasion in 1588. During its preparation and aftermath, the propaganda machine on all sides played an active role, as the following examples illustrate.⁹

The context for the Spanish Black Legend, which originated at this time, determined the tone of much of this poetic production, which was either composed to feed anti-Catholic discourse or to counter it. According to William S. Maltby, the Black Legend has its origins in the translation into English in 1583 of the *Brevísima Relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (A short account of the destruction of the Indies) by the

Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas, originally published in 1552. Its translation and influence became more relevant when tensions between the two nations were at their peak, and thus Queen Elizabeth desired to discredit Philip II.¹⁰

As a result, texts and allegorical illustrations depicting Spanish cruelty, produced against the backdrop of the long and bloody Dutch struggle for independence, aimed to affect English public opinion and succeeded in this goal. I concur with Schulze's interpretation that the negative portrayal of Spanish religious and political zeal was based on this premise of alleged cruelty, accusing them of being intolerant fanatics, while similar actions on the Protestant side were justified as necessary measures for the nation's battle against foreign conspiracies.¹¹ Maltby narrates how the rise of the English propaganda machine was under the control of powerful Protestant figures, such as the Duke of Leicester, who pressured the English monarchy to oppose Spain and was able to reach all social groups. The propaganda production, inflamed by events in Flanders and echoed in French and Dutch publications, blamed Spain and its Inquisition for all the atrocities committed during the protracted conflict, the fall of Antwerp in 1585 being the most catastrophic image planted in the public imagination to fan Spanish resentment.¹²

The production of propaganda leaflets was central to the political situation and manipulation of public opinion, especially when Elizabeth officially declared her direct intervention in the Flanders conflict. The edict "A Declaration of the Causes Moving the Queen of England to give aid to the Defense of the people afflicted and oppressed in the Lowe Countries" (1585) accused Philip II of being ill-advised by his counselors to send more soldiers than governors to Flanders, along with sanguinary and uncontrollable armies that perpetrated terrible crimes against the Dutch people.¹³ Official historians and pamphleteers alike voiced anti-Spanish sentiment, or Hispanophobia, which was duly reported by Philip's ambassadors and was echoed in Spain's own propaganda. The confrontational climate was fueled by news of massacres attributed to the Duke of Alba and Philip, which also spread terror of a Spanish invasion. As Álvarez

Recio explains, Anti-Spanish sentiment was tied to anti-Catholic fervor, in the face of which the queen opted to support Dutch reformists, thus aggravating relations with Spain that would lead to war.¹⁴

In the struggle, both nations claimed God was on their side. England portrayed its queen as God's envoy, the providential guide of her people, and thus depicted her as a symbol of light in pamphlets of the time: "The glory of the kingdome shall remaine as the sunne in the sight of the Lord: and as the Moone in the night season, so shall our Elizabeth give light unto her people" (163).¹⁵ Meanwhile, in Spain, the belief that they had divine support inspired words such as those of the Jesuit Rivadeneira, who, on the eve of the Armada disaster, wrote: "We are not embarking on a difficult enterprise, because God our Lord, whose cause and saintly religion we will defend, will precede us and, with such a captain, we do not have anything to fear."¹⁶ For this reason, and due to the complexity and cost of the necessary preparations, the invasion of England and the enterprise of *la Armada Invencible* were perceived in Spain as a collective enterprise that called upon all of Spanish society, as Carlos Gómez-Centurión Jiménez has pointed out: "it involved all social strata, cities, kingdoms and states of the Monarchy, it was devoted to the defense of the common interest of religion, and destined to a certain victory."¹⁷

The Poets' Stance and the Official Discourse

Courtly poets did not hesitate to give poetic form to the official discourse, aligning themselves with the national cause while seeking recognition and reward. Among the renowned poets who employed the lyric form to voice the Crown's agenda, Luis de Góngora dedicated his verse to praise of the king, aspiring to become his herald, thus devoting his poetic production to portrayal of the official discourse as national sentiment. His "A la Armada que el rey Felipe II Nuestro Señor envió contra Inglaterra" (To the Armada that King Philip II Our Lord sent against England) adopts the epic tone to create a propaganda composition structured on the *silva*, a strophe favored by Góngora, as we see in his *Soledades* (1613), where the hendecasyllabic verse prevails over the heptasyllables to carry

the gravity and slow cadence proper to the severity of the subject matter. Thus, Góngora applies his pen in service to his monarch, displaying his elaborated *culteranist* style to extol King Philip II while delivering a satirical attack on Queen Elizabeth I and English religious defiance, as we can see in the following verses:

Oh once Catholic and powerful island,
temple of faith, now temple of heresy,
fire of Mars, school of Minerva
worthy of that its temples one day
were adorned by royal crown of shining gold
now wear vile wreath of sterile grass;
fortunate mother and obedient servant
of Arthurs, of Edwards, and of Henries,
rich in fortitude and in faith rich;
now condemned to eternal infamy
by that one who governs you
with hand occupied
in the spindle rather than the scepter and sword
woman of many, and of many daughter-in-law!
Oh infamous queen; not queen, but she-wolf
libidinous and beast!
Heaven's fire may rain upon your head!¹⁸

Góngora's invective against Elizabeth derives from the general conception of the English queen circulating throughout Spain and Catholic Europe that was firmly embedded in the misogynistic mindset permeating the period. In line with this Catholic discourse, the poem discredits Elizabeth as a monarch first due to her gender, then due to her alleged lack of virtue as a woman. On one hand, the poetic voice judges her unworthy of England and its glorious past, which are both praised, because as a woman she is to be devoted to traditional female tasks: "spindle rather than in scepter and sword." On the other hand, she has corrupted the Crown with her adulterous promiscuity: "Woman of many, and of

many daughter in law! / Oh infamous queen; not queen, / but she-wolf libidinous and beast!" The derogatory *topos* of the she-wolf, common in colloquial language still today, derives from the sexual innuendoes and rumors that circulated about the queen and her many suitors. The satirical attack, directed at her but not at England itself, is underlined by Góngora's elaborate style with the intertextual reference to Francesco Petrararch's (1304–74) sonnet, "¡Fiamma d'el ciel su le tue treccie piova!" (Heaven's fire may rain upon your head!), his poetic diatribe against the corruption of the church, alluding to another previous religious schism that resulted from the Avignon Papacy in 1377.¹⁹ Góngora, following the principles of the *imitatio*, elaborates on the Petrarchan metaphor that represents the corrupt church as a libidinous maiden, insofar as Queen Elizabeth I embodies the Church of England. The religious schism becomes a poetic motive, rooted in the traditional misogynist perception of women, which the poet consciously manipulates to adhere himself and his poetic role to the official Catholic discourse of King Philip's monarchy. Queen Elizabeth's demonization is thus both anchored in conventional motives inherent to the satirical genre and in burlesque poetry that criticizes social archetypes (doctors, maidens, poets, and courtesans, among others). All the while, such a composition is legitimized by the political antagonism that marked the relations between England and Spain at the time.

It would be difficult to specify the extent to which this poetry was commissioned by the authorities or spontaneously originated in the poet to side with the official discourse, maybe a means to gain favor in court. Its political intention seems clear though, and the satirical attack is not only to the foreign enemy but also to those who, either due to their incompetence or negligence, dwell within. As such, Góngora, under the pseudonym of Juan Sánchez Zumeta, also directed his satire at the Duke of Medina Sidonia, whom he addressed as "god of the Tuna fish" for his privilege over the *Almadrabas*, the tuna fishing market, in a sonnet on the occasion of the English raid on Cádiz and later in another sonnet to the Duke's tomb after his death in 1611.²⁰ These satirical compositions circulated while hymns and praises were commissioned by the authorities

and publicly promulgated for the aid of Cádiz. As counter discourses to official propaganda, the verses attributed to Góngora harmonize with similar satirical sonnets directed at the Duke of Medina Sidonia and the established power by other poets, such as Miguel de Cervantes, which have been studied in depth by Adrienne L. Martín and other scholars.²¹

The fairly recent advent of the printing press allowed authors to publicly distribute their ideas from the relative safety provided by anonymity and pseudonyms. In this way, they were able to express their alliance or discontent with the government while extending a hand to other nations insofar as printing and distribution was often carried out clandestinely in foreign countries.²² Minimal format and cheap production made pamphlets, as well as poetic diatribes and libels in single folio or *pliego suelto*, fairly easy to copy and disseminate among a heterogeneous social structure. And, as Alexandra Halasz describes, this included all social classes—artisans, merchants, bourgeois, and nobility.²³ Frances Dolan reminds us that pamphlets and other doctrinal texts were accompanied by detailed images that aided the words and were repeated often enough so the public associated the text with the stories represented. The influence that pamphlet literature had on public opinion increased with the development of the printing press and the rising number of readers (26).

The oral, audiovisual, collective society in which these texts were transmitted and marketed favored the rapid distribution of ideas and ideologies, relying often on a symbolic imaginary with which all were familiar. One of these images was that of the queen as defender and protector of her people and the Church of England. The increase in the number of readers, and a social context in which texts were orally transmitted, contributed to the creation of public opinion that welcomed anti-Spanish sentiment and idealization of their queen. As Joad Raymond has noted, attention to political and doctrinal pamphlets of the time reveals many incongruences in the anti-Catholic discourse and implicit messages that were not hidden for the masses of the early modern period (10).

In this political and literary context—ideal for transmission of ideas and criticism—the conflict and ideological discrepancies needed to be

enacted well before the Armada attempted to reach English shores. Since all nations had to assert their viewpoint as the official truth and legitimize their position in Europe, the performative society of the early modern period emerged as the perfect *proscenium* in which to publicly enact and manipulate the religious confrontation born of the Reform and Counter-Reformation. The final disastrous result of the Armada, once revealed, was celebrated in England and Flanders with jubilant public festivities and events. It produced commemorative medals and coins celebrating the victory over Spain while mocking the Spanish bravado that had long tormented them. In England, Queen Elizabeth paraded triumphantly, “in imperial roman fashion,” surrounded by her ministers and nobility, to Saint Paul’s Cathedral where trophies from the Spanish ships were displayed as solid proof of the English victory.²⁴ As noted earlier, public performances were accompanied by the publication of “songs and praises in different languages,” intended to spread the news not only in England but among other nations.²⁵ Without a doubt the textual composition in other languages celebrating Queen Elizabeth’s triumph reflected the desire and necessity to reaffirm, reenact, and convince others of the prevalence of English power. The Virgin Queen, her political and religious policies, had been divinely corroborated as righteous, and thus poetry stepped in as the necessary means in a clever propaganda campaign to reinforce and legitimize her monarchy.

Other genres of entertainment, along with poetry in popular and courtly compositions, also served the purpose of transmitting events while imposing the state’s ideological discourse. In his study of playing cards during the time of Elizabeth I—who played them and enjoyed watching card tricks—J. R. S. Whiting shows how this was a popular form of entertainment. This widespread custom of gambling was to be instrumental for divulging important events and political agendas. The cards printed after the Armada’s defeat reveal how relevant popular means of entertainment were not only for communicating and relaying recent events to the masses but also for establishing and reaffirming a political

agenda and identity over its subjects. This is what Louis Althusser refers to as the “ideological state apparatus.”²⁶

The deck of cards dedicated to the Armada reveals a concern for documenting the truthful version of the events. They stress an anti-Catholic stance by exposing the pope’s financial and spiritual aid to the Armada against Elizabeth. The Armada’s impressive force and strength is represented in detail with depictions of Spanish commanding officers and their galleons, and illustrations of emblematic battle figures, while also emphasizing the English victory.²⁷ In this deck the three and four of spades refer to Queen Elizabeth’s ostentatious parade in London on September 8, 1588, where captured Spanish banners were presented at St. Paul’s Cathedral for public display. In this performance of victory and power, transmitted and reenacted publicly by “heralds and trumpeters on horseback,” the queen arrived in a chariot supported by four pillars and drawn by two white horses to St. Paul’s Cathedral where “she fell on her knees, and audibly praised God for her own and the Nation’s signal deliverance.”²⁸

The ostentatious celebrations held in England reverberated throughout Spain, as we see in various poetic compositions intended for popular and courtly distribution, alluding as well to the aforementioned Queen Elizabeth’s parade celebrating victory over the Armada. Among those poets who would transmit the news through their verse is Miguel de Cervantes. His second composition about the Armada, “Canción segunda, de la pérdida de la Armada que fue a Inglaterra” (1588) (Second song: on the loss of the Armada that went to England), is addressed to King Philip II and summarizes an interpretation of the disaster in Spain while warning the monarch of the dangers that England still represented.²⁹ This composition, while portraying Cervantes’s public stance on the events, also demonstrates that news of the Armada disaster and Elizabeth’s victorious celebrations had reached Spain. It also echoes the images being spread by English propaganda poetry, which may have reached Spain almost simultaneously with news of the disaster, as indicated by the allusion to the “jubilations and fests” held in London.³⁰ Cervantes’s verses have a

curious correspondence to the images of the magnificent celebrations that Queen Elizabeth and her ideological apparatus arranged and recorded through popular textual and visual means of propaganda, such as the aforementioned compositions sung by heralds and the decks of cards that were printed for the occasion. Wounded Spanish pride resonates in Cervantes's verses, especially in the last stanzas that summarize the sentiment of the nation upon receiving the unfortunate news. The disastrous events for the Spanish were nonetheless responded to with an admonition for the haughty English, who were still regarded as mere pirates, reminding them that ultimately their joyful celebrations would but increase their debts and hasten their own demise:

Triumph the pirate, since, now, and make
[jubilation] and festivity, because the sea and wind
have replied only to their intent,
without remembering that who owes, pays,
that, when adding to the bill, in the end
there be range that will reach and kill him.³¹

Cervantes's take on the Armada disaster, while deserving further study, calls attention to the soldiers, the true protagonists of the event. It also shines light on the contemporaneous reader and, above all, on the monarch who with just cause positioned the nation as defender of the Catholic faith against England—in his words, the main pirate in the Occident.³² Cervantes's pledge, evoking his own experience in the misfortunes of war, is that of a veteran returning home who faces the indifference and oversight of those in power who sent him to war. His second *canción* on the Armada expresses the attitude toward England that Spanish political discourse had previously invoked to promote the invasion. The poem reminds the reader and King Philip II of the English offenses, such as the acts of piracy against Spanish interests in the Indies as well as in Spain. In this song, the poetic voice is sure that such attacks would move the nation to what at the time seemed impossible, another attempt to punish the offenders:

As if it was not enough to move you
your harbors assaulted
in the remote isolated Indies,
and in your houses your ships burned,
and in the other desecrated temples;
your seas full of fierce pirates;
because of them your armies hunched over,
and in them a thousand fortunes and lives
subjected to a thousand barbarian steels,
things that each in its case is possible
lead us to attempt even the impossible.³³

While voicing public opinion and the official ideological stance transmitted by other poets, Cervantes, as in other works, gives voice to those who are left in the shadows. He emphasizes the role and misfortune of the common protagonist, invoking Spain and King Philip II to welcome them back—the courageous “valiants of war” who return now to Spain “confused but not defeated”—since they have been forced back by the inclemency of the weather rather than by the bellicose virtue of their enemy:³⁴

Oh Spain, our mother!
See your sons returning to your protection,
leaving the sea full of their misfortunes;
repelled not by an opposing dexterous hand;
but by the unyielding tempest
of wind, sea, and sky, which tolerates
the enemy’s raised brow,
odious to heaven, loathsome to earth,
because then certain is the fall
when vain and arrogant is the ascent.³⁵

Cervantes’s composition closes with a call to action on the part of King Philip II and his subjects warning that the danger is still on the horizon and that it should be met with perseverance. The poet’s plea seems to have

been answered, since the Armada's initial disaster had in fact convinced Philip II and his council that the war against England had to continue, with even more resolution, and thus preparations for a new Armada began as early as the following year in 1589:³⁶

Oh Spain, oh king, oh famous soldiers!;
Provide, command, obey, that heaven
in the end has to aid the just zeal,
since the beginnings would be doubtful,
and in the just cause and strive,
victory encloses its happiness.³⁷

Cervantes undoubtedly subscribes to the official discourse and shares similar perceptions of events with other minstrels of the state, such as Lope de Vega, Cristóbal de Virués (1550–1614), and Luis de Góngora. Because of courtly competition, poets were faced with adopting a poetic stance while aligning with the official discourse. The courtly poet was expected to give voice to the nation's feelings regarding current events in order to reinforce his aspirations and position with respect to those in power. This configuration of identity through literary culture coincides with Harold Love's description of manuscript circulation as a way of social bonding that aimed to "nourish and articulate a corporate ideology" (181). Courtly poets, heralds of the state and the monarchy, employ the lyric as a mode of transmission to broadcast the established ideology, although as we have seen in these examples, each one takes the opportunity to reinforce their own stance and lead the reader subtly to the poet's ideological ground.

The social nature of poetry in the heterogeneous and collective oral society, common to England and Spain of the early modern period, produced political and doctrinal pamphlets. These texts, with poetry in the leading role, maximized the oral and popular characteristics of the genre to transmit ideology and promote uniform public opinion. As Hanna Betts indicates, "a variety of literary and social relationships were fostered in and around published texts, while certain genres became associated with particular audiences and groups of writers" (157). In Spain, the poetic lyre

openly served the cause against England and the Anglican queen while remaining critical of the authority in power through the burlesque genre. In this light, the proliferation of diplomatic notes containing satirical allusions to the court, such as Latin epigrams directed to Elizabeth in her own court, suggests that the poetic discourse adjusted to the context and audiences for which it was designed. This either followed the model of the Latin form in the refined courtly classical taste or produced popular verses that circulated between Spain and England in translation. As an example, Fernández Duro mentions Teodoro de Baeza's *De classe Hispanorum caelitus profligata carmen* (Song of the Spanish fleet's celestial defeat), composed in Latin in 1588, and the English responses in similar classical poetic form of marked humorous tones.³⁸

Renowned Spanish early modern humanist, López Pinciano (ca. 1547–1627), states in his *Philosophia Antigua Poética* (1596) that satyr was conceptualized as a “history of the current vices, of vile and infamous men.” For didactic purposes, satyr seeks to prevent men from falling into vices and into the consequent punishments and offenses. Understood as a sarcastic, cruel, and humorous thought, satyr is intended to admonish vices common in human beings, derived from the classics such as Horace, Lucilius, and Persius. Antonio Pérez Lasheras rightly outlines how Pinciano ties satyr to comedy, distinguishing that while comedy implies the use of humor and mockery seeking laughter and entertainment, satyr belongs more to ethics and thus looks to reprehend with severity and harshness.³⁹ Following Pinciano's stand on satyr, and considering his well-known influence among his contemporaries, we see that the few satirical compositions directed at Queen Elizabeth are conditioned by the seriousness of the subject and principality of her royal rank. For this reason, while we have burlesque and satirical compositions targeting the Spanish aristocracy, as for example those that take aim at the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the poetic reprimands directed at the English queen or King Philip II, for that matter, do not incur harsh vituperation due to the respect that the monarchical institution demands. However, as we have seen in the case of Góngora, the satirical attack on Queen Elizabeth is centered on the

weaknesses of her gender in accordance with the misogynist ideology of the time that found expression in this poetic genre.

Two compositions presenting an image of the Virgin Queen illustrate the different attitude that each poet could assume for the use of satyr. While being both negative, the characterizations of Queen Elizabeth that we see in the sonnets by Lope de Vega and Captain Cristóbal de Virués differ in the respect paid to the royal figure, representing two interpretations of the satirical verse probably tied to the audiences to which the sonnets were directed. As we see in Lope de Vega's sonnet, "A la jornada de Inglaterra" (1588) (To the venture of England), his allusion to Elizabeth I as a "false siren," drawing from classical mythology, maintains the decorum that the addressed subject demands:

Famous Armada of banners full,
parties all of the red stole;
trees of Faith, where flutter
many white pennants on each mast.
Forest of the sea, to our sight pleasant,
that of the Christian Ulysses only faith
takes you out from the Spanish margins,
against the falseness of a siren.
Leave and burn the world, that well carry
the sails wind and tar the gunshots,
which my sighs and chest lift.
Certain of both you can depart,
trust they will guard and drive you;
such is my fire and such are my sighs.⁴⁰

As Sebastián de Covarrubias (1539–1613) notes in his dictionary, *Tesoro de la lengua* (1611), sirens were represented by poets as sea nymphs who had the upper bodies of beautiful women and the lower bodies of fish, and who sang in soft voices to put sailors to sleep in order to enter their ships and eat them.⁴¹ The deceitful trait attributed to sirens by classical tradition is central to Lope's representation of the Virgin Queen. Classical

mythology and the elevated poetic form serve here to observe decorum while exploiting the deceitfulness and voraciousness attributed to Queen Elizabeth by the Spanish and Catholic perception disseminated through propaganda. Lope de Vega's treatment of Queen Elizabeth concurs with the official discourse, as we also see in *La Dragontea*.⁴² This epic poem was published in 1598 and represents the poet's attempt to secure a stable and respected position at court as royal chronicler.⁴³ Hanna Betts, in her study of counter-discursive literary responses to the rhetorical practices of Elizabethan cult, points out that the court provided a natural focus for the writer's aspirations, and eagerness for social promotion, although "as the administration drew to a close, it was also an environment in which professional opportunities were increasingly limited" (157).

In *La Dragontea*, Lope refers to the queen at times as a demonic monster but also as a deity and queen of abundance served by Sir Francis Drake: "Your strength is in Ceres' dragons / the goddess is Elizabeth, abundant queen."⁴⁴ In other works, in which the popular poetic form grants more freedom from decorum, the queen's demonization is even more stressed, as Sánchez Jiménez notes in Lope's *Rimas* (1624): "Here lies Jezabel, / Here the new Athaliah, / of antartic gold harpy, / of the sea cruel fire."⁴⁵ Lope's reference to Athaliah, daughter of the biblical Jezebel, who preserved the worship of Baal, the pagan deity, is a metaphorical allusion to Queen Elizabeth I that had negative connotations in the eyes of Spanish Catholicism, since she had similarly secured the Church of England according to her father Henry VIII's wishes and thus consolidated the schism from the Catholic faith. Her desire for Spanish gold and attacks on the Spanish Atlantic trade routes from America, previously mentioned in this chapter, warrant her depiction as a harpy of classical mythology. As Betts mentions, "the courtier poet used an erotic involvement with the female body as a means of expressing political investment in Elizabethan government" (157). Similarly, Lope de Vega, like other Spanish poets operating with Queen Elizabeth's image, engages in a rhetoric of power and ideology by exacerbating her female representation through classic mythological symbolism. The symbol of the siren alludes to the

sexual innuendoes attributed to the defamatory public image of Elizabeth I. On the other hand, the social and religious taboos that were vehicles for negative perceptions of women also evoked forbidden desires that needed to be demonized in the image of the enemy.

This pejorative perception is maintained by Captain Cristóbal de Virués, a veteran of Lepanto, like Cervantes, who cultivated the tragic genre as playwright and dedicated a sonnet to Queen Elizabeth I with the same critical tone he used for his own King Philip II when addressing the topic of the problematic abuse of power. The Captain's tendency to denounce oppression through the dramatic leitmotif of despotic power in his tragedies is reinforced when he focuses on the common foreign enemy and represents Elizabeth as the epitome of tyranny. Despite Virués's criticism of Philip, when it comes to the Protestant queen, he does not hesitate to request his monarch's intervention against her. As Alfredo Hermenegildo points out, while Virués's tragedies directly attack the institution of the monarchy, necessarily avoiding any compromising mention of King Philip, in his poetic compositions dedicated to Philip and the English queen, Virués clearly identifies her with tyranny (399–400). In his poem, "Al rey Felipe II" (To King Philip II), the English queen is depicted as the cause of all evil, and thus the poet stresses that all the monarch's efforts should be directed against her. The queen is blamed for steering the once saintly Britain into infamy and sacrilege; she is presented as deceitful, tyrannical, and undeserving of the title of woman since she seems to be an instrument of divine rage and vengeance:

who once a saintly name gave to Britain.
A woman deceives them (the English people),
extreme misery, an infamous woman
who tyrannizes and humiliates the unhappy
and forces to be, as her, horrible, enormous,
but that such a woman a woman be called
error I think it is, and to call her
wrath of God, that His vengeance will procure,
more just and suitable that name will be.⁴⁶

Later in the poem, the queen is described as an infidel brandishing capital sins “armed with pride and falsehood, and thus angering God.”⁴⁷ By presenting a contrast with King Philip II, praised here for his prudence and power, the laudatory composition requires the negative and antagonistic characterization of Queen Elizabeth I as balance to the configuration of the Spanish monarch’s image. Composed on the eve of the Armada enterprise and the preparations for the invasion between 1586 and 1588, the poem is inscribed in the trend of poetic propaganda serving the national undertaking while aligning the author, otherwise critical of the monarchical institution, with the figure of King Philip and the official discourse. As we see in this example, the poem serves as a public and open statement of alliance with the national ideology, secondarily seeking the support and royal patronage that any literary author would desire.

Virués exploits the derogatory image of the queen in his sonnet, “A la Inglesa” (To the English queen), deposing her of royal status by reducing her to the condition of her gender. His composition constitutes one of the most injurious poetic manifestations of the texts analyzed here around the queen’s figure. The Valencian poet refers to her using one of the most vivid representations of evil, apart from Judas, that existed in Christianity: Jezebel, the biblical wife of Ahab, king of Israel who, upon her wishes, abandoned the cult of Yahweh to worship the pagan deity Baal.⁴⁸ The dramatic configuration of this scriptural female character as employed by Virués, and later continued by Tirso de Molina, represents for Jorge Sorensen the pernicious consequences of a dangerous shift of power based in idolatry and religious ambivalence while exemplifying the crimes and vices that can lead a monarch to rise and fall.⁴⁹ As “Gezabel descomulgada” (Excommunicated Jezebel), the English queen is blamed for upsetting Christianity and the divine peace by centering her power in an alternative worship in which she is the center of devotion, therefore becoming unworthy of her crown and position as servant of God. As he does in his dramatic play, *La gran Semíramis* (The great Semiramis) (1609), Virués is interested in emphasizing the attraction that power has

over the figure of the queen and the terribly destructive consequences her ambition will have for her people:

Ungrateful Queen, unworthy of that name,
damned excommunicated Jezebel,
you disturb the divine beloved peace?
you disturb the Christian divine peace?
Your arrogant nape inclined to the yoke
of our Saint praised Mother,
look that you were in her baptized,
saddened to think of your total ruin,
do not cause more scandals move away
the sorrowful soul from the rage that has
the Christian reason in such humiliation,
come to your senses miserable one, realize, see,
that even though scandals are advisable,
alas, pitiful those who drive and support them.⁵⁰

In Virués's diatribe against the queen, the poetic voice admonishes her for her pride and arrogance, referring to Elizabeth's Protestantism and the persecution of her Papist subjects who had gained support in her court. While granting her that scandals are unequivocally part of a monarch's rule, as Captain Virués must have known very well, he warns her of the consequences that those who instigate them bring upon themselves.

Broadside Ballads and Espionage

The transmission of information was in close association with propaganda and espionage, as we see in the particular case of Don Bernardino de Mendoza, Spanish ambassador in London from 1578 to 1584, when he was expelled from England for being involved in a plot against the queen. Also attributed to him was the composition and distribution of false news during his time in London on the eve of the Armada enterprise. The courtly intrigues and spy networks that surrounded preparations for the Armada, contrary to Cesáreo Fernández Duro's belief, were the ideal

context for false information to be spread in order to cause confusion among enemy ranks, especially on the eve of the invasion. If Bernardino de Mendoza could not perform the deed himself, he would have used his position and connections with English Catholics to instigate the translation and distribution of propaganda compositions in the same way that they were used to spread Catholic propaganda. Such was also the case of the scholar John Story and other agents who took Spanish citizenship, a royal pension, and even refuge with the Spanish ambassador.⁵¹

While serving as Spanish ambassador in France, Bernardino de Mendoza received what later proved to be misleading information of the Armada's success from some of his agents in England. This news, which he believed and hastily sent to Madrid, was published and distributed in broadside sheets, or *pliego suelto*, in Spain.⁵² The difficulties inherent to the communications and postal service of the time—subject to the vagaries of roads, horses, weather, and a certain degree of indolence and inefficiency from its servants—hindered the transmission of the real results of the engagement. Philip, upon receiving the same news from Venice, Flanders, and Paris, seemed to have not given much credit to it for twelve days while waiting for confirmation. The false news about the Armada, which was quickly called a “pack of Spanish Lies” and published under the same title, “*Mentiras españolas circuladas por el mundo*” (1588). These pamphlets initiated a reciprocal discourse in which poetry was called to arms to take part in the conflict supporting each side while disqualifying the information spread by the other.⁵³ Among the replies to the news from Spain regarding the Armada, Sir Francis Drake himself produced his own prideful narrative of the events with the intention of restoring the truth: “The Spaniards are not ashamed of printing and circulating in France, Italy and other countries the victory of words that they pretend to have achieved against our kingdom, when later on it was to be certain to all nations that the Armada they called the Invincible.”⁵⁴

Meanwhile in Spain, according to a document from *La Gaceta* found by Pascual de Gayangos y Arce (1809–97) in the British Museum, a popular blind Spanish poet (Cristóbal Bravo) was hired to compose and distribute

a series of ballads addressing Drake's reply. These *romances*, which originated in Córdoba as vehicles of Spanish propaganda, only increased English indignation, which translated into another retort, this time in Spanish, in order to be better understood and distributed in the kingdom of Philip II. The English production of this kind of propaganda in Spanish verses illustrates the extent to which these narratives were transmitted and interchanged across the Channel. The English reply to the Cordovan blind poet read as follows:

Retort and disappointment against the falseness published and printed in Spain in insult of the English Navy and the illustrious and excellency Sir Charles, count of Howard, great admiral of England, etc. and of the very illustrious and valiant knight Sir Francis Drake, and the most noble and knightly, against the Sacred Catholic and Royal Majesty Queen Elizabeth, our lady by grace of God Queen of England, France, Ireland, and champion of faith, etc. by D.F.R. of M.—‘Truth suffers, but does not perish.’⁵⁵

Fernández Duro, describing the broadside found by Gayangos, indicates that the leaflet presents a drawing of an English ship sinking various Spanish vessels, and he identifies its place of publication as “London, in the house of Arnaldo Hatfieldo, by Thomo Cadmano, 1589.”⁵⁶ The verso offers an acrostic *octava* exalting Queen Elizabeth and reveals who is probably the author or patron of the composition, most likely a Spanish renegade: “humble and loyal servant of V. M. D. F. R. of M.”⁵⁷ For lack of space and due to its lengthy extension, I will not reproduce the whole document here. Instead, I will bring attention to its significance in depicting the dynamic exchange of texts and narratives in a variety of genres that maintained an open source of communication ideal for transmission of propaganda and satirical discourses during that time. The meticulous English reply to the popular ballads or doggerel verses (*versos de ciego*) regarding the Armada addresses, point by point, the lies and erroneous facts spread by the Cordovan blind poet who composed them: “Retort to the ballads by Cristobal Brabo, natural of Cordova, deprived of sight in body and soul, in praise of the Victory that the Spanish Armada had against the English, year of our Lord of 1588.”⁵⁸

In an effort to reestablish historical truth, the English poetic *riposte* in Spanish, obviously intended for the Spanish territories, reinforces the English historical discourse and role of Queen Elizabeth. Interestingly, the English document contains the blind poet's ballads or *romances*, whose author, "deprived of sight in body and soul," has erroneously misguided his countrymen and his king by spreading false, manipulated news. As we have seen previously in the Spanish compositions, the royal majesty and king figure is not the object of slander, despite being the enemy; rather, the blame is leveled on the incompetence and ill intentions of the monarch's counselors and servants. With the intention of destroying each of the arguments, the author explains why he has felt compelled to reply to "such fabulous and despicable things."⁵⁹ The English composition in Spanish elaborates the traditional Christian discourse with allusions to the plagues of Egypt, thus taking the opportunity to summon Christian doctrine to the English side and to proclaim victory while denouncing the false and gratuitous motives of the Spanish king and his plans for the invasion.

Stephen Alford studies the spy network of Elizabethan England, providing detailed information on English Catholic exiles who were pensioned by Spain. For Alford, among the identified commissioned agents, such as Anthony Standen and Stephen Powle, we can imagine others whose names and identities might be difficult to trace due to the covert nature of their business abroad.⁶⁰ In this light, we may view the Spanish verses against the Cordovan poet in the popular ballad form as having been commissioned by English propaganda through its link of spies who were often double agents as, indeed, was Powle's case. These exiles proved to be a reliable source of information for England, despite the difficulties and delays of transmission, as Alford notes regarding a source living in Spain: "In Powle's meticulous newsletters, the earliest indications of the Armada came in December 1587. His information two months later was that the fleet would not sail out before spring of that year. By the end of March 1588, Powle's sources told him that the Duke of Medina Sidonia would command the Armada; it was intelligence that turned out to be correct (253). The connection between the anonymous English propaganda

ballad in Spanish and these agents concurs with the role that poetry plays in early modern society as a vehicle for political and ideological ideas and as a mercantile endeavor to make a living, for sale to the highest bidder.

Conclusion

Following confirmation of the Armada's defeat and unsuccessful renewed attempts to carry out the Spanish invasion of England, the desire and anxiety to put an end to English commerce and upcoming supremacy on the sea, which had inspired the Armada enterprise, soon turned into despair. Castile was so exhausted by the military confrontation with England, France, and Flanders that when the Royal Hacienda was forced to declare bankruptcy and impose new taxes, the courts vehemently opposed the measure.⁶¹ While the nation and its people struggled to recover, only the verses composed by illustrious and popular poets remained as proof of the importance that the poetic genre had as an ideological tool of propaganda. The official and subversive discourses, in which satyr played a leading role, run parallel in a dialogic relationship to echo and measure society's views of its own time. Despite the brief period of peace achieved with the treaty of London in 1604, which only lasted until 1625, the image of England and Queen Elizabeth I did not dissipate from the collective mind of Spain but lingered on as a significant threat and thus remained bound to literary representation.

NOTES

1. "Mi hermano Bartolo / se va a Inglaterra / a matar al Draque / y a prender la reina. / Tiene de traerme / un luteranico / con una cadena / y una luterana / a señora abuela." (Díaz-Plaja, 158; Murillo, 354). All translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated.
2. Gómez-Centurión, *La invencible*, 72–73. See also William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend*.
3. "Invencible y de memoria / don Felipe rey de España / el alto rey soberano / hos dé salud y Victoria" (Fernández Duro 2, 85–97).
4. "Oigan todos los nacidos / el bastimento sobrado / que la fuerte flota lleva / del gran Leon esforzado / de bizcocho y vastimento / que será aquí declarado

/ de atun y de aceyte / y vinagre que ha juntado / y de queso y de tozino / cecina que ha llevado / y muchas pipas de bino / garbanzo y aba Preciado / y asi mesmo mucho arroz / y de donde lo ha sacado / comienzo por el bizcocho / que el andalucia a dado / que son doce mil quintales / de bizcocho aderezado / y malaga la famosa, / beynte y siete mil a dado” (Fernández Duro, 90). According to Cesáreo Fernández Duro, a copy of the manuscript in the popular four-fold *pliego* was kept in the personal library of Mr. Pascual de Gayángos (97).

5. Álvarez Recio, *Rameras de Babilonia*, 109.
6. See also Schulze Schneider, *La leyenda negra de España*.
7. See Schulze, (48, 178). On this satirical painting, see also Claudia Mesa’s chapter in this volume (11).
8. Schulze, *La leyenda negra*, 47.
9. For the role of news circulation and the rise of political pamphlet production, see Natalie Mears (149).
10. Maltby, *The Black Legend*, 15.
11. Schulze, *La leyenda negra*, 69. See also Philip Wayne Powell, *The Tree of Hate*.
12. Maltby, *The Black Legend*, 52–53.
13. Maltby, *The Black Legend*, 56.
14. Álvarez Recio, *Rameras de Babilonia*, 109.
15. See, for example, *The Blessedness of Britayne*, a poem composed by Morris Kyffin in 1587 (Álvarez Recio, 163).
16. “Vamos a una empresa no dificultosa, porque Dios nuestro Señor, cuya causa y santísima religión defenderemos, irá delante y, con tal capitán, no tenemos qué temer” (quoted in Gómez Centurión, *La invencible*, 67–70).
17. “Empresa colectiva de todos los estamentos, ciudades, reinos y señoríos de toda la Monarquía, consagrada en la defensa de los intereses comunes y de la religión, destinada a una victoria cierta” (Gómez-Centurión, 46).
18. “¡Oh ya isla católica y potente, / Templo de fe, ya templo de herejía, / Lumbre de Marte, escuela de Minerva / Digna de que las sienas algún día / Ornó corona real de oro luciente / Ciña guirnalda vil de estéril yerba; / Madre dichosa y obediente sierva / De Arturos, de Eduardos y de Enricos, / Ricos de fortaleza y de fe ricos; / Agora condenada á infamia eterna / Por la que te gobierna / Con la mano ocupada / Del huso en vez del cetro y de la espada, / Mujer de muchos, y de muchos nuera! / ¡Oh reina infame; reina no, más loba

/ *Libidinosa y fiera!* / ¡*Fiamma d'el ciel su le tue treccie piova!*" (In Fernández Duro, 237–239; my emphasis).

19. "¡*Fiamma d'el ciel su le tue treccie piova!*" (Canzoniere, 136). This is a verse from a Petrarchan sonnet against ecclesiastic corruption in which the Papacy of Avignon is depicted as a perfidious maiden upon whom the poetic voice invokes divine punishment.
20. Fernández Duro, *La Armada Invencible* 1, 237 ("dios de los atunes"). Fernández Duro mentions that the sonnet is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, manuscript 163 (81).
21. For dissenting satirical verse addressed to Spanish nobility, see Adrienne L. Martín, *Cervantes*.
22. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 58–59.
23. Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, 14–15.
24. "en carro triunfal, a la romana" (Fernández Duro 1, 142).
25. Fernández Duro, *La Armada Invencible* 1, 142. "cantos y loas en distintas lenguas" (Fernández Duro 1, 142).
26. For ideological production and configuration of social conscience, see Louis Althusser's "Ideology."
27. See illustrations in J. R. S. Whiting (9, 12, 14).
28. Whiting, *A Handful of History*, 18. For Spanish equivalents in playing cards, see William Hughes Willshire, *A descriptive catalogue* (265–66; E 185).
29. Ziomek, "La piratería," 472.
30. "júbilo y fiestas." See Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Obras completas* (69).
31. "Triumphe el pirata, pues, agora, y haga / [júbilo] y fiestas, porque el mar y el viento / an respondido al justo de su intento, / sin acordarse si el que deue, paga, / que, al sumar de la quenta, en el rremate, / se hara vn alcançe que le alcançe y mate" (*Obras completas*, 69).
32. "pirata mayor de Occidente" (*Obras completas*, 66).
33. "[...] como si no vastasen a mouerte / tus puertos salteados / en las rremotas Indias apartadas, / y en tus casas tus naues abrasadas, / y en la ajena los templos profanados; / tus mares llenos de piratas fieros; / por ellos tus armadas encojidas, / y en ellos mill haciendas y mill vidas / sujetos a mill barbaros açeros, / cosas que cada qual por si es posible / a hazer que se intente aun lo imposible" (Cervantes, *Obras completas*, 68).
34. "los valientes de la guerra," "los que vuelven confusos, no rendidos" (Cervantes, *Obras completas*, 67).

35. "¡Oh España, madre nuestra!, / ver que tus hijos buelben a tu seno, / dejando el mar de sus desgraçias lleno, / pues no los buelbe la contraria diestra; / buelbelos la vorrasca ycontrastable / del viento, mar, y el çielo, que consiente / que se alçe vn poco la enemiga frente, / odiosa al çielo, al suelo detestable, / porque entonçes es çierta la cayda, / quando es soberuia y vana la subida" (Cervantes, *Obras completas*, 67).
36. Hutchinson, *La Armada Invencible*, 245–46.
37. "¡Oh España, oh rrey, oh milites famosos!; / ofreçe, manda, obedeçed, que el cielo / en fin ha de ajudar al justo çelo, / puesto que los prinçipios sehan dudosos, / y en la justa occasion y en la porfia, / ençierra la vitoria su alegría" (Cervantes, *Obras completas*, 69).
38. Fernández Duro, *La Armada Invencible* 1, 163–64.
39. Lasheras, "Aproximación," 62.
40. "Famosa Armada de estandartes llena, / partidos todos de la roja estola; / árboles de la Fe, donde tremola / tanta flámula blanca en cada entena. / Selva del mar, á nuestra vista amena, / que del christiano Ulises la fe sola / te saca de la márgen española, / *contra la falsedad de una sirena*. / Id y abrasad el mundo, que bien llevan / las velas viento y alquitrán los tiros, / que á mis suspiros y á mi pecho elevan. / Seguras de los dos podréis partiros, / fiad que os guarden y fiad que os muevan; / tal es mi fuego y tales mis suspiros" (Fernández Duro 239; my emphasis). See also *Rimas de Lope de Vega Carpio*, "a Dom Fernando Coutinho, Marichal de Portugal, Alcaide mor de Pichel, etc. Con licencia de la S. Inquisición. Lisboa, por Pedro Crasbeeck, año1605" (Soneto XLVII, fól. 12 vto.).
41. "Fingieron los poetas ser unas ninfas del mar, el medio cuerpo arriba de mujeres muy hermosas, y del medio abajo peces, y que con la suavidad de su canto adormecían a los navegantes, y entrando en los navíos se los comían" (Covarrubias, 1445).
42. See the study of Lope's *Dragontea* by Alejandro García-Reidy in this volume.
43. Vega Carpio, *La Dragontea*, 16. See Antonio Sánchez Jiménez's edition and his reference to the difficult situation that the poet experienced at the time of its composition (13–14). Sánchez Jiménez explains that "Lope chose an elevated style in the poetic genre such as the epic to improve his poetic authority, and for that purpose he addressed a topic of recent national history in order to position himself in the view of the new reign as a brilliant candidate to a post of secretary, or even of royal chronicler" (Lope escogió un género elevado como

- la épica para incrementar su autoridad poética, y acudió a un tema de historia nacional reciente para situarse ante el nuevo gobierno como un brillante candidato a algún puesto de secretario, o tal vez incluso de cronista real) (16).
44. “Los dragones de Ceres son tus fuerzas / la diosa es Isabel, reina abundante” (Vega Carpio, 197).
 45. “Aquí yace Jezabel, / Aquí la nueva Atalía, / del oro antártico arpía, / del mar incendio cruel” (Vega Carpio, 197n274).
 46. “[...] que un tiempo santo nombre dio a Bretaña. / Una mujer le engaña, / miseria extrema, una mujer infame / al triste tiraniza y avasalla / y fuerza a ser, cual ella, horrible, inorme, / pero que tal mujer mujer se llame / error pienso que sea, y que llamalla / ira de Dios, que su venganza forme, / nombre será más propio y más conforme” (In Hermenegildo, 400).
 47. “armada de soberbia y de mentira, / aquesta infiel, que tanto a Dios aíra” (Hermenegildo, 401).
 48. O’Connor, “The Figure of Jezebel,” 70.
 49. Sorensen, “La Jezabel de Tirso,” 74.
 50. “Ingrata Reina, de tal nombre indina, / *Maldita Gezabel descomulgada*, / que, turbas la divina paz amada? / que, turbas la christiana paz divina? / Tu sobervia cerviz al yugo inclina / de nuestra santa madre regalada, / mira que fuiste en ella bautizada, / piensa cuitada en tu total ruina, / No muevas mas escandalos retira / el alma triste del furor que tiene / a la razon christiana en tal afrenta, / Buelve en ti miserable, advierte, mira, / que aunque el aver escandalos conviene, / ai de aquel que los mueve i los sustenta” (Virués, 434).
 51. Alan Haynes, *Invisible Power*, 1–2.
 52. Fernández Duro, *La Armada Invencible* 1, 175.
 53. Fernández Duro, *La Armada Invencible* 1, 176.
 54. “No se avergüenzan (los españoles) de dar á la estampa y circular por Francia, Italia y otras partes la *victoria de lengua* que pretenden haber conseguido contra este reino, cuando poco despues habia de ser manifiesto á todas las naciones que la Armada que llamaban la Invencible” (Fernández Duro 1, 176–77; my emphasis).
 55. “Respuesta y desengaño contra las falsedades publicadas é impresas en España en vituperio de la Armada inglesa y del ilustríssimo y excelentíssimo señor don Charlos, conde de Howarde, grande almirante de Inglaterra, etc. y del muy ilustre y valeroso caballero don Francisco Draque, y de los más nobles y caballeros, dirigida á la Sacra Cathólica (*sic*) y Real Magestad de la Reyna

doña Isabel, nuestra señora por la gracia de Dios Reyna de Inglaterra, Francia, Irlanda, y defensora de la fee, etc. fecho por D.F.R. de M.”—“La verdad padece, pero no perece” (Fernández Duro 1, 178).

56. “Lóndres, en casa de Arnaldo Hatfieldo, por Thomo Cadmano, 1589” (Fernández Duro 1, 178).
57. According to Fernández Duro, the unidentified author of these verses, “F.R. de M.,” was probably a Spanish renegade. V.M.D. was the formulaic salute “vuestra merced don . . .” (your worship sir . . .) (1, 178).
58. “Respuesta á los romances de Cristóbal Brabo, vecino de Córdoba, privado de la vista de el cuerpo y del alma, en alabanza de la Victoria que la Armada española tuvo contra la inglesa, año del Señor de 1588” (Fernández Duro 1, 179).
59. “cosas tales y tan fabulosas y baxas” (Fernández Duro 1, 179).
60. Alford, *The Watchers*, 253.
61. Gómez-Centurión, *Felipe II*, 259.

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PART 3

The Queen Is Dead!

Isabel Tudor in the Spanish Ethos
and for a Spanish Audience

CHAPTER 8

Cervantes Upending Ribadeneira

Elizabeth I and the Reformation in Early Modern Spain

ALEXANDER SAMSON

On the eve of the defining event of England's tortuous sixteenth-century relationship with Spain, the Gran Armada, the Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneira published the *Historia Ecclesiastica del scisma del Reyno de Inglaterra* (*Ecclesiastical history of the schism of the kingdom of England*), a book that appeared that portentous year of 1588, in editions at Antwerp from the Plantin press, twice in Madrid on July 20 and then on September 16, as well as in Barcelona, Valencia, Zaragoza, and Lisbon. There were two further editions in Madrid the following year, from two different printers, and another Lisbon version, again from a different press. A slew of five further republications of this treatise followed between 1593–5.¹ This cluster-bombing publication cannot be separated from the pressing contemporary need for propaganda, a battle for hearts and minds, to parallel the attempted land invasion by Alejandro Farnesio, Duke of Parma's troops on ships commanded by Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, Duke of Medina Sidonia. For a work of propaganda, however, Ribadeneira's account is surprisingly anodyne in its treatment of Elizabeth I, the figure the military operations sought to usurp and displace. Ribadeneira had himself witnessed her accession in 1558 when he was on a mission to explore the possibility of establishing the Jesuit order in England. In the *Historia*, he suggested that the new queen allowed herself to be anointed deliberately to dissimulate her true faith, turning to her ladies and complaining, "Keep, back, lest the awful smell of this oil offend you." I

was in London at this time, in the house of Don Gómez de Figueroa, then count and later duke of Feria" (412: sig. Cciv.).² Feria, Philip II's envoy, had been in London to keep watch over events and, in the event of Mary's death, to attempt to open marital diplomacy for a new marriage to Elizabeth. He would marry Mary's lady-in-waiting, Jane Dormer (1538–1612).

The colorful anecdote about the coronation can be corroborated from other sources. Holy oil had to be procured from the Low Countries for Mary I's coronation in 1553 by the imperial ambassador, Simon Renard (1513–73). Another witness at Elizabeth's coronation in 1559 recorded her comment—it was "grease and smelt ill"—while John Coke (1563–1644) dismissed the superstitious anointing ceremony altogether, suggesting the hallowed ointment was no more than Spanish "oyle olive . . . very good for salettes."³ In addition to his firsthand experience of the country, Ribadeneira's account was based largely on a Latin account by the English Catholic exile, Nicholas Sander, *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani*, which, although probably partially composed under Mary, had not been printed until 1585 at Rheims. Sander's text, or at least the book that appeared under his name (the priest Edward Rishton had a hand in preparing it for the press and extended sections in the final book), formed the basis for much Catholic Reformation historiography of the Church of England. Indeed, a French adaptation was the "proximate cause of Gilbert Burnet's (1643–1715) *History of the Reformation* (1679–81) and thus launched modern historiography of the English Reformation."⁴ This tradition from Burnet focuses on refuting the aspersions by Sander, or "Dr Slanders," regarding Anne Boleyn and the notion that Henry VIII's desire for a divorce caused the Reformation. An edition of Sander's history published at Cologne in 1628 included numerous additions by Ribadeneira himself. By then, there had been six Latin editions of *De origine*, as well as two French translations, and others into German, Italian, Portuguese, Polish, and Spanish. In his prologue to the reader, Ribadeneira explained,

A book by Doctor Nichols Sander, an excellent gentleman, English in origin, theologian by profession, and exemplary in character, has come

into my hands [. . .] worthy of being read by all. For, besides containing a history of mighty kings, whose deeds, being many and prodigious, men are keen to know, it is also an ecclesiastical history, depicting the alterations and transformations that our holy and Catholic faith has suffered in that kingdom over the course of almost sixty years—and suffers still. (115: sig. A1r. [BL C.69.a.18])⁵

According to Christopher Highley, “Ribadeneira transformed Sander’s book into his *Historia Ecclesiastica*,” an indication of the close filiation between the two accounts (150).⁶ The Jesuit’s framing of his source moves between casting it as high political drama, a story of kings and queens about which all men wish to know, and an ecclesiastical history and portrait of religious suffering.

This intertwining of the spiritual and carnal—the personalization of England’s religious history and the implication of a strong providential underpinning—runs through popular images of Tudor England to this day: “the story is told, by and large, in the prurient terms of his desire for Anne Boleyn rather than through the lens of international politics or theology” (Higgins). What is missing now as then for European Catholics is any real sense of the theological issues at stake. In essence, Ribadeneira’s account asks the reader to reflect on

the constancy and holiness of Queen Doña Catherine, the integrity and justice of the Roman Pontiff, the sentiments of other princes, the sins and filthiness of Anne Boleyn, the flatteries and deceptions of the king’s courtiers, the patience and fortitude of the sainted martyrs, and lastly the chaos, confusion, and devastation of a kingdom, a kingdom once noble, Catholic and powerful, which had so praiseworthy received the faith from the very earliest days of the primitive Church. *And after Pope Saint Gregory (whom the Venerable Bede calls the Apostle of England) replanted it by means of Augustine *Polydore Virgil, in Book 2 of his *History*, and Cardinal Pole, in Book 2 of *The Unity of the Church*, say that it was the first kingdom publicly to embrace the faith. (115: sig. A1v–A2r)

Against constancy and sanctity, integrity and justice, is set the shameless lasciviousness, the dishonest and infamous sexual voraciousness of Anne Boleyn. The tone of the language applied to Anne is indecorous in the extreme; even it was not being applied to a queen consort, regardless of whether her legitimacy was accepted or not. It is curious how a claim undoubtedly contrary to the prestige of Spain is accepted here by Ribadeneira and even footnoted to support it. The footnotes cited point to another of the most influential sources of his account, Reginald Pole's (1500–58) defense of the unity of the church, *De unitate ecclesiae* (1538), a contemporary response by the exiled Plantagenet to the religious changes of 1532–6.

The intemperate representation of Anne Boleyn contrasts markedly with the treatment of other figures, like the most evangelical of the Tudors, Edward VI, who, employing the well-worn trope of manipulation by evil councillors, is largely exculpated:

the tender youth of King Edward, King Henry's son, abused and tyrannized by his tutors and the regents of the realm, heresy running wild and unchecked by their hands, until the day Edward died—not without suspicion of poison, and his sister, the illustrious Queen Doña Mary, succeeded him. By the splendor of her saintly life and her zeal for the glory of God, and by the wisdom and strength of her husband, the Catholic King Don Philip, the shadows of heresy were banished and the sun of religion, peace and justice returned. (116: sig. A2r)⁷

The European Catholic treatment of English religious history is a mirror image of the familiar narrative: Mary I is portrayed as saintly; her prestigious dynastic match with Philip II, and the link between England and Spain, are foregrounded; while her unfortunate little brother's youth is tyrannized and oppressed by tutors/governors and their heresies. The *Historia Ecclesiastica del scisma del Reyno de Inglaterra* proffers a clear providential framework and moral *exemplum*. The narrative's tragic denouement is the wage of sin; Anne's sexual promiscuity, the king's effeminate weakness, and his seduction by her demonic arts into an unnatural and prohibited relationship lead inexorably to the martyrdoms. With her sister, Queen

Elizabeth, succeeding her, the entire realm was thrown into the troubles and misfortunes recounted in this history.

Those who read it will learn to beware of their passions, to take themselves in hand, and to keep a tight rein on their pleasures and appetites, since a single spark of infernal fire in the heart of King Henry, arising from a perverse lust for a woman of no great beauty, so enflamed him and so deformed him that from the “defender of the faith” he metamorphosed into its cruelest foe, a savage beast who set all England ablaze. To this very day, the land suffers and bewails this wildfire, and neither the unending tears of the afflicted Catholics nor the copious blood of the martyrs, shed each and every day, have been enough to quench and extinguish it (116: sig. A2r–v):⁸

The schism teaches us to beware of passion, to rein in pleasure and appetite, lest the infernal spark of desire render us savage, cruel, and bestial. The most salacious and scandalous aspect of the *Historia Ecclesiastica del scisma*, derived from Sander, is the accusation that it was “rooted in incest and sensuality” (117: sig. A2v):⁹ For Anne was the sister of one of Henry’s mistresses (he had many), and the daughter of another, both of whom were still living at that time. And though it seems a thing incredible and—by reason of its hateful terrifying nature—unfit to be recorded here, yet I shall relate it here, for Doctor Sander has done so [. . .] Anne was believed on trustworthy grounds to be Henry’s own daughter. (124: sig. B9r–v)¹⁰

The suggestion that Anne Boleyn was Henry’s illegitimate daughter, by Elizabeth Boleyn (née Howard) (1480–1538), appears to be based on nothing more than malicious gossip. Nonetheless, his affair with Anne’s sister, Mary, is well known. Sander is the first known printed source for this suggestion. Queen Elizabeth is consistently cast in a passive role by Ribadeneira’s retelling. She is no more than an instrument of divine providence, “following in the footsteps of her parents while augmenting their methods, persecutes our holy Catholic, apostolic, and Roman faith with extraordinary cruelty and ferocity,” whereas her mother was “the germ of this lamentable tragedy, the source and root of such grievous disasters”

(120: sig. A4v).¹¹ Sexual sin, incest, and heresy are drawn together into a typical configuration for this time:

And, teaching us the end of the frenzied passions of blind men, he had his beloved Anne (who had always been a Lutheran heretic) publicly beheaded for having betrayed him by sleeping with numerous other men, both before and after wedding the kind, including hateful intercourse with her own brother! Among the judges condemning her for adultery and incest was one Thomas Boleyn, who was called her father—though he was not. (124: sig. A5v)¹²

Anne's incest is double, for she slept with both her brother, George, and her father, Henry. She is defined as a heretic and dubbed a Lutheran, a theological simplification into which other Spanish commentators including the Count of Gondomar and Count of Salinas did not fall. Henry and Anne's inability to produce an heir and the situation this implicitly leads to—that is, disordered female rule—reflect the disordered passions from which it sprang. The emotive and melodramatic aspects of the story, its personalization, are constantly brought into sharp relief. A letter of consolation penned by Catherine for Mary, for example, when her royal dignity was taken away—a source of comfort when she was persecuted under Edward—is reproduced in translation. The providential subtext is apparent and, like many European Catholic understandings of the English Reformation, it foregrounds the regicide and martyrdom of Mary Queen of Scots.

Deflecting blame from both Spain and the papacy, Ribadeneira argued that the execution of Mary Queen of Scots was precipitated by the French king, Henry II, who “regarding Elizabeth as an illegitimate bastard, ordered Mary Queen of Scots, the wife of his son, Dauphin Francis . . . proclaimed as queen of England and Ireland” (409: sig. Bb7v).¹³ Perhaps Ribadeneira does not go so far as to excuse Elizabeth's persecution of Catholics, but there is at least an explanation and suggestion that the attacks on her legitimacy and right of succession forced her into pursuing an evermore evangelical religious agenda: “For, seeing that she had been born to a

marriage condemned by the Apostolic See, and that the sacred canons cast doubt upon her legitimacy and her right to rule, she chose to disregard them and all church law" (411: sig. Cc1r).¹⁴ Reflecting on her excommunication, Ribadeneira writes, "so deeply did the queen feel this blow that she hardened and grew yet crueler: having summoned parliament, she enacted several ghastly laws against the followers of the Catholic faith" (436: sig. Ee4r).¹⁵ His portrait of William Cecil, who of course he may have been acquainted with personally, also serves to divert attention from the queen: "a wise man, prompt and able in all affairs, whose genius, cunning, and conscience were all wondrously at his command in whatever he did—and so in the reign of Queen Mary he had made a show of being Catholic" (413: sig. Cc2v).¹⁶ Lord Burghley was a cunning and worldly pragmatist, a Nicodemite and Machiavellian, very able to manipulate people's consciences to get what he wanted. Where there was an obvious whiff of scandal, Ribadeneira inexplicably refrains from exploiting it. The suggestion that Elizabeth had consummated her relationship with Robert Dudley is resisted, although the rumor that he had his wife murdered to clear the way for a marriage is recorded. It is odd that Ribadeneira lets this golden opportunity to blacken her reputation pass, but what is notable about this account is that while at times he does not use the term "queen" when talking about Elizabeth, there is no imputation of sexual impropriety, despite her association with evil *exempla*, biblical and classical women like Athalia, Eudoxia, and Jezebel. Even when authors, less temperate than Sander, dubbed her "Jezebel of the North," "a heretic and blood-thirsty woman . . . tormented by her own conscience," there was a recognition of her inner complexity and conflict.¹⁷

While the figure of Elizabeth herself might not have attracted the expected level of opprobrium, other Elizabethans loomed large in the Spanish imagination. Sir Francis Drake, for example, became the protagonist of a lengthy epic poem by Lope de Vega, written by 1598, retelling his final privateering expedition, defeat, and death two years earlier. *La Dragontea* (1598) mythologized Drake, even as it demonized him. As Elizabeth Wright argues, just as his reputation waned swiftly in his homeland,

“elite and upwardly-mobile Spaniards found in Francisco Drake the very model of the early-modern Atlantic subject [. . .] the same crown officials, who feared or protested his raids also admired Drake as a European agent who mastered the vast Atlantic space.”¹⁸ For Lope de Vega, “The Queen well knew your great heart,” following the dragon’s circumnavigation of the globe, “that heroic event . . . Who but you confronted that arduous passage?” Lope de Vega also considers the result of Drake’s taking of the treasure ship *San Juan de Antón*: “Spain has held you in greater esteem for your celebrated liberality and charm”; and here he wittily leaves a deposit slip for the stolen bullion.¹⁹ The poem goes so far as to dub Drake “the English Scipio” (*inglés Cipión*) with reference to his assault on the city of Cartagena on February 9, 1586. The city’s name recalled the site of ancient Carthage and thus an event symbolically central to Habsburg royal mythology in the sixteenth century: the reconquest of Tunis by Charles V in 1535, immortalized by Garcilaso de la Vega (1501–36). The fact that Drake spoke Spanish and lived in Spain as a youth all contributed to his availability for mythologization. In Cervantes’s attributed *letrilla* about the Armada, Drake precedes the queen regarding the English enterprise: “My brother Bartolo / is going to England / to kill the Dragon / and take the queen captive.”²⁰ One of Drake’s recent biographers has suggested that his reputation was deliberately exaggerated by agents of the Spanish empire on both sides of the Atlantic to underline their need for greater funds, better defenses, and to dissimulate their collusion with a “pirate” with whom they were nevertheless content to trade. The porousness of the Atlantic space can be demonstrated by Drake’s collaborator John Hawkins, who reported in *A true declaration of the troublesome voyage* (1569) how, with a cargo of captured and enslaved West Africans, he “coasted from place to place makyng our traffique with the Spanyardes as wee myght, somewhat hardelye, because the kinge had straightly commaunded all his gouernours in those partes by no meanes to suffer any trade to be made with vs: notwithstanding we had reasonable trade and courteous intertainment from the Ile of Margarita unto Cartagena” (sig. A4). Whereas Lope had invoked the infamous image of Elizabeth in his *Rimas* (1634)—“Here

lies Jezebel, / a new Athaliah, / the harpy of Antarctic gold / cruel immolator of the sea" (no. 265, ll. 1–4, 523)—in *La Dragontea* she becomes the witch, Medea, who helped Jason overcome the army that arose from the dragon's teeth he sowed and the dragon guarding the fleece.²¹ For Wright, Drake's perception "as an avatar of efficacious Atlantic imperialism," an embodiment of *sprezzatura* (studied carelessness), underlines the ways in which "elite solidarity transcended religious and economic rivalry."²² There is a historical recognition in Sander, Ribadeneira, and others, that the queen, given her antecedents, had little choice but to reject the Catholic Church: its law made her illegitimate and denied her right of succession, while the pope's bull of excommunication forced her hand to pass penal laws against Catholics. According to Ribadeneira, Henry VIII did not set out to join a heretical sect, whether Lutheran or Zwinglian, but to create his own. Theological differences are constantly collapsed by Ribadeneira into melodrama or romance.

Even more striking than the *Historia de la cisma* is the manuscript *Exhortación* (*Exhortation to soldiers and captains of the English expedition in their captain's name*) that Ribadeneira sent to Ana Félix de Guzmán, wife of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, as the Armada was forming in Lisbon in May 1588, which he described as the "culmination of the *History*," a document he had suppressed "out of respect," begging that it not be published or its author identified, but that the duke "make use of it, if in any way it might be advantageous for him" (1331).²³ As Carlos Gómez-Centurión has argued, "Ribadeneira's work, regarded as a whole, perfectly reflects the tensions and contradictions generated by an enterprise in which the political, strategic, and economic interests were confusingly blended with religious motives" (22).²⁴ The *Exhortación* represents an attempt to construct the Armada as a religious crusade and a defensive war, although it cannot help but reveal at the same time the underlying strategic and economic motivations behind the enterprise of England, described in the text as "the principle University of this doctrine, a pit of snakes, a safe haven for thieves and pirates, a marketplace for all for such poisonous merchandise, such that from there it spills and overflows

around the whole world" (1335).²⁵ The imagery of Ribadeneira's "military oration" confuses the religious and economic, heresy as merchandise, and heretics as thieves and pirates. He suggests, as others do later, that there was a silent Catholic majority, "the greatest and best part," ready to rise up against their sovereign; he also directly links the duration of the Eighty Years War with English intervention and support, describing the Low Countries as a "Spanish outpost" (1342, 1335).²⁶ Ultimately, and following Javier Burrieza Sánchez, if the *Historia de la Cisma* arose from "the need to defend the military intervention of Philip II," the *Exhortación* "justifies the motives that led to the enterprise."²⁷ Ribadeneira's political thought, like that of many of his contemporaries, is shot through with contradictory impulses, eschewing on the one hand the Machiavellian, while being at the same time redolent with examples of it.

As Charles I's entourage and servants kicked their heels at Santander in 1623, they were deliberately baited by Jesuits preaching in Latin (so they could understand them) near their lodgings. One Sunday, Sir Richard Wynn (1588–1649), a bedchamber servant of the prince, recorded how in a sermon on the text "I am the true pastor, that lays down my life for my sheep," one of the priests inveighed against the supremacy and rejection of the pope:

he said, that in a place called England, it was of late years held that a temporal prince could be head of the Church—that a woman could be head of the Church; naming Queen Elizabeth, and giving her that opprobrious language, as the daughter of lust and adultery, whose mother was begot by none but Satan, that it made our ears glow to hear him . . . this King, I say, was the first who, (to satisfy his own lust, and to bring his adulterous conceptions to his own heart's desire), did (forgetting God and religion) alter the course of their ever-held obedience to the Church of Rome, by dissolving their abbeys, and putting to death I know not how many thousands, for which act his soul lies chained in the bottomless pit of hell of everlasting torments. (69, 71)²⁸

The rant to which Wynn and his companions were subjected by the anonymous agent provocateur in 1623 confirms the influential nature of

Ribadeneira and Sander's accounts, repeated in essence here. The same critical features—Elizabeth I as the daughter of lust and adultery, Henry VIII's uncontrolled lust dragging an entire kingdom into schism and heresy—are recalled here. Although the accusation of incest is not repeated, the sexualization and demonization of Anne Boleyn is at the heart of this unnamed priest's construction of religious difference. After the failure of the Spanish Match, despite Charles I's unprecedented surprise journey to the court of his prospective bride, and the declaration of war in 1625, a number of works turned to the Reformation as well as recent history to consider religious divisions between Protestants and Catholics. Francisco de Quevedo's *Como ha de ser el privado* (What the favourite should be) (ca. 1624, revised 1628) vindicated Olivares' role (*el marqués de Valioso*) in staving off an alliance with heretics and articulated his principled religious stand against the marriage.²⁹ Similarly, Calderon de la Barca's *La cisma de Inglaterra* (The English schism) (ca. 1627) repeated features familiar to us by now from Ribadeneira, the play's principal source, and its "criminalization of the queen [Anne], an utterly anomalous case in Spanish drama, justifies military intervention against England in order to re-establish Catholicism," as Paula de Pando notes.³⁰ Like a latter day Salome, in the play, Anne's dance inflames Henry's passion—he lifts her up in his arms and describes her as his idol: "Calderón appears to appropriate the conventional Catholic view that the basis of the Reformation was material rather than spiritual" (192). This picks up on something merely hinted at in Sander, but explicit in another Catholic dissident, Nicholas Harnpsfield's (1519–75) manuscript *Treatise of Marriage Occasioned by the Pretended Divorce of King Henry VIII*—namely, that Anne's skill as a dancer was related to her dangerous sexuality.³¹ Calderón further reshaped history, having Anne poison a letter from the king to Catherine and, at the denouement, setting the revelation of Anne's adultery alongside news of Catherine's death. This unprecedented negative portrayal of a historic monarch in a *comedia* sharpens the significance of its final tableau of Mary I treading on Boleyn's decapitated body, symbolically triumphing over her Spanish mother's rival, as she is readmitted to the succession.³²

Elizabeth was a “glaring absence” from the Golden Age stage, especially from Calderón’s *La cisma*, appearing in only three seventeenth-century plays, notably Antonio Coello’s *El conde de Sex* (*The Earl of Essex*) (1633) that stages the sublimated fictional romance between the Earl of Essex and the ageing queen, as if it were real, with Elizabeth indecorously eroticized and humanized, skewered by the conflict between her regal and human bodies.³³

Cervantes’s “La española inglesa” (The Spanish-English lady) (1613) has a paradoxical relationship with Ribadeneria’s account of the Protestant schism. In many ways a paean to peace and religious toleration, emerging from a political context in which religion was increasingly subordinated to the interests of the state, religious difference in the short story is constantly elided or avoided, even as it relies on the shock of portraying Spain’s perennial antagonist for most of the second half of the sixteenth century, Elizabeth I, as a tolerant and benign figure. The tale explores the limits of religious allegiance and how it overlaps with other forms of fidelity and obedience, especially that owed to the monarch. The counterintuitive nature of this portrayal is a critical commonplace. As Isabel Torres writes, “the reader has to contend with the benevolent portrayal of the English and their Queen during a period of mutual hostility and intolerance” (116). Critics, arguing for a later dating of the story, link this positive depiction to the favorable atmosphere created by the Treaty of London in 1604, which brought decades of hostility to an end. The subversion of readerly expectations in this story works both at the level of reversing Elizabeth I’s historical reputation in Spain, as well as in the contrast between the verisimilitude of its incidental historical detail, personages, events, and the generic expectations of romance. The Earl of Essex, Robert Devereux, who had twice attacked Cádiz, sacking and setting fire to the city, infamously burning the bishop’s library after ransacking it for certain books—an act of destruction repeated in Porto on his return voyage—is presented at the outset as the incarnation of chivalrous generalship. His sacrilegious and spiteful acts of wanton destruction would have been fresh in the minds of the story’s first readers. In the light of history, it is pointedly ironic that

Cervantes chose to dramatize so notorious a figure as the English queen precisely in order to explore the limits and nature of religious allegiance and fidelity. Elizabeth also functioned in Catholic Europe as a providential receptacle for misogynist anxieties about female power and rule; she was demonized as heretic, an Englishwoman, and a ruling queen.

The story's protagonist is firmly linked to the figure of the queen through their sharing the same name, a gesture that reflects the story's thematization of blurring uncertain identities, including that of historical figures. As always with Cervantes, at the story's center is a fundamental equivocation. At times, it emphasizes religion while at others it empties it of any significance, altogether downplaying difference. Although Clotaldo and his family are terrified they will be imprisoned if their Catholicism is discovered, they emphasize Isabel's Spanishness, dressing her "after the Spanish fashion" (sig. Ffir) (*a la Española*) (248), although the description itself has confounded costume historians in search of Iberian elements.³⁴ Instead of making a window on to their souls, the queen forgives Clotaldo for kidnapping and hiding "this treasure" (sig. Ffiv) (*este tesoro*) (249), making no inquisition as to her "Catholic" (*a la católica*) upbringing (247). When infatuation stirs up a deadly rivalry for her in Arnesto, the son of her chief lady of the bedchamber, the queen compliments Isabela on her unshakeable faith, despite "persuasions of which there have been many" (*persuaciones, que habían sido muchas*) to deflect her from her "Catholic intention" (*católico intento*). Rather, "she [Elizabeth] esteemed her all the more for knowing so well how to maintain and keep the law her parents had taught her" (*la estimaba en más, pues tan bien sabía guardar la ley que sus padres la habían enseñado*) (268), presumably a reference to her natural rather than adoptive parents. When Ricaredo chances on her real parents and conveys them to London, they are presented to the queen, in contrast to their daughter, "newly clad after the fashion of [England]" (sig. Hh2r) (*vestidos de nuevo a la inglesa*) (262). When Isabela is poisoned and transformed into a "monster of ugliness" (sig. Ii4r) (*monstruo de fealdad*), another marriage is arranged for Ricaredo with the unfortunately named Clisterna, another Catholic, this time from Scotland.

Ricaredo is saved from the incompatibility between his religious faith and allegiance to the queen, becoming captain of the piratical voyage he undertakes to win Isabel's hand at precisely the opportune moment, following the timely death of his general and their encounter with three ships "in the Straits of Gibraltar" (*a la boca del estrecho de Gibraltar*), which turn out not to be Spanish or Portuguese, but rather "Turkish" (*Turquescas*): he directs his men to "should shoot onely at the *Turkes*, and spare the Christians" (sig. Gg1r) (*iban tirando como a blanco; a los turcos no más, que a los cristianos mandó Ricaredo que nadie los tirase*). Later, he is ransomed by Spanish Trinitarians from Algeria, despite being English. He comments, "I told them who I was" (sig. Mm1r) (*dijeles quién era*) (281). The nonchalant way Cervantes introduces religious difference into the text cuts against the grain of the importance of sectarian differences in the text and historically: "they were secretly Catholic, although in public they made a show of following the opinion of their queen" (*eran católicos secretos, aunque en lo público mostraban seguir la opinión de su reina*). Three decades of war between England and Spain, and the maelstrom of the Thirty Years' War, toward which Europe was inexorably moving, were the sectarian backdrop to a romance whose generic expectations are constantly subverted with reference to minute empirical details: Isabela's cousin, the singing nun of Santa Paula, and the letter informing Isabela of Ricaredo's death in France, not Aquapendente in Italy, as he later recounts. Critics have pointed to the proximate context for the text's treatment of tolerance, religious non-conformity, and state-building; the expulsion of the Moriscos (1609–12) is also reflected upon in the Ricote episode in the second part of *Don Quixote* in 1615. In this sense, the example of tolerance for being English has been read by critics as sharpening a denunciation of Spain's persecution of its own hidden religious minorities.

The queen herself is not directly characterized, lacking a physical description, although the word "queen" (*reina*) appears over a hundred times in the short space of the novella. Rather, on her first appearance she is blurred into the figure of the narrator, becoming a secondary teller of the story: "it seeming unto her (as she afterwards told a great Ladie of

her Bed-chamber) that shee had a starrified heaven before her” (sig. Ffiv) (*pareciéndole, como después dijo a su camarera, que tenía delante un cielo estrellado*) (249). After her “suspension” (*suspensión*) passes, she instructs Isabel to speak to her in Spanish, which she understands although she does not speak it—a probably historically accurate detail. To the extent that the Elizabethan court does feature in the story, it is cluttered with romance elements: gossiping ladies in waiting, sexual jealousy, and powdered unicorn horns procured from the queen’s doctors to save Isabela from her poisoning. These deliberately exotic romance elements sit incongruously alongside real historical details. The elaborate explanation as to how the ten-thousand-escudo dowry the queen gifts the young couple is going to be transferred to Spain—by using a French merchant and raising letters of exchange in Paris to be filled in Spain, while the family travels on a Flemish ship, also via France—reveals an interest in monetary matters that simultaneously underlines the backdrop of war with Spain: “by reason of the prohibition of commerce betwixt those two kingdomes” (sig. Kk2r–v) (*por el contrabando de la comunicación de los dos reinos*) (272). In the prominence of economic matters throughout the story, one can perhaps glimpse hints at the queen’s reputation for parsimoniousness amongst her own people and avarice from a Spanish perspective, frequent victims of her maritime depredations. Equally, the text’s obsessive foregrounding of material concerns could be read as a transposed reflection on the historiography that located schism in material, not spiritual, concerns. The text also emphasizes that the true reasons that pushed Spain into war were strategic threats to their Low Country possessions and commerce with the Indies through English piracy and military interference, a conflation as we saw especially apparent in the *Exhortación*. An anonymous voice comments on the favor shown by Elizabeth to Ricaredo that “gifts . . . hath softned and mollified our Queens hard heart” (sig. Hh2v) (*dádivas . . . han ablandado el duro corazón de nuestra reina*) (262). While Elizabeth resists descriptive elaboration, functioning generically as a role rather than an individual, at other moments she embodies contradictory traits. Her frequent actions and interventions move the wheels of the plot toward its

happy romance ending, which is just, grateful, and liberal, despite occasional hints of a darker, more sinister intransigence. In the scene where she shows surprising favor to Ricaredo by allowing him to sit rather than kneel before her, there is a passing reference to her “arrogant disposition” (*altiva condición*); nevertheless, she treats the family from Cádiz “with much love” (*con mucho amor*) and even hugs them on their departure: “The queen embraced all three” (*Abrazó la reina a los tres*) (272–3). The oscillation between closeness and distance parallels the way the story invokes the queen’s negative historical reputation at one moment, then offsets it the next against a humanized and sympathetic portrayal. It is hard to avoid reading the queen’s direct involvement in subverting her own embargo, her berating of Clotaldo for hiding such a “treasure” (*tesoro*) from her, the recurrent use of economic imagery in relation to love, and the discussion of the metaphoric language of monetary value in romance, as hints at this darker historical reputation for greed. Multilingualism is another aspect of the narrative that at times bolsters its claim to verisimilitude but at others points to its fictional opacity. The queen is able to understand Spanish, but not speak it, while Ricaredo questions the freed galley slaves “in Spanish” (*en español*) (254). Bizarrely, early in the story Isabela seems not to understand English: she “did not understand what the Queene had commanded her” (sig. Ff3r) (*no entendió lo que la reina le mandaba*) (251), although later she serves “as translator” (*de intérprete*) (264) for her mother during their audience with the queen.

Cervantes’s text seems to deliberately challenge the Catholic historiography of the Reformation as driven by material rather than spiritual considerations by asking the price of beauty and virtue, carnal and spiritual love, thereby problematizing the material as a nexus for accessing the spiritual. It is precisely Elizabeth, the queen, who emphasizes most sharply the paradox of the language of love’s dependence on material analogies: on Ricaredo’s return she offers him “your jewel” (*la joya vuestra*), commenting despite her own metaphor that “for those pledges that are bought by our desires, and have their estimation and value in the soule of the buyer, they are worth a World, there being no price that can

countervail it" (sig. Hh1r) (*las prendas que se compran a deseos y tienen su estimación en el alma del comprador, aquello valen que vale una alma, que no hay precio en la tierra con que apreciarla*) (260). After she has become ugly, and after returning Isabela to her parents, the queen comments that she is "a most rich jewell in a course case" (sig. Ii4r) (*una riquísima joya encerrada en una caja de madera tosca*) (269). The implicit paradox is that value can only be articulated in material terms, even when the goods described are immaterial and spiritual—the antithesis of the material. One of the central interpretative approaches to the text reads it as an allegorical movement from carnal to spiritual love. The complication of Isabela's poisoning and rejection by Ricaredo's parents, just at the moment when a wished-for consummation might be expected in a conventional romance, and the subsequent return of the Spanish-English girl and her parents to Seville, leads to a doubling of the narrative and a second quest narrative. The two halves of the story reflect and echo each other, especially in the processions: the first in London to court and then in Seville to the convent. The story progresses from infatuation rooted in "corporeal beauty" (*corporal hermosura*) to idealized companionate marriage, founded on Isabela's "infinite virtues . . . which imprisoned my soule" (sig. Kk1r) (*infinitas virtudes [que] me aprisionaron el alma*) (270). In an apotheosis of conjugal love, Ricaredo displaces God and virginity, appearing just as Isabela is about to profess as a bride of Christ in Santa Paula.

The alleged exemplum at the end gathers its multiple threads together in typically Cervantine, gnomic, and opaque fashion: "what great power ver[tue, and beautie have, since that both of them together, and each of them by themselves are of force, to make even their enemies in love with them. As likewise how that heaven knowes from the greatest adversities and afflictions, to draw the greatest benefits, and comforts" (sig. Mm2r) (*nos podría enseñar cuánto puede la virtud y cuánto la hermosura, pues son bastantes juntas y cada una de por sí a enamorar aun hasta los mismos enemigos, y de cómo sabe el cielo sacar de las mayores adversidades nuestras, nuestros mayores provechos*) (283). Firstly, the conditional "could" brackets off the *exemplum*, inviting the reader to interpret and question if this is truly the

case. The notion of beauty and virtue's power to make even enemies fall in love applies to Clotaldo, Ricaredo, and the queen herself. In the case of Ricaredo and Isabela, love transcends political divisions, whereas for the queen it moves her to tolerance of religious difference, her servant's Catholicism, and the English family's recusancy. But this glosses over the potentially destructive consequences of beauty and virtue. One of these consequences is Clotaldo's kidnapping of Isabela in the first place: "wonderfully affectioned, though very Christianly, to the incomparable beauty of Isabella" (sig. Eeiv) (*aficionado, aunque cristianamente, a la incomparable hermosura de Isabel*). A second is Arnaldo's mortal jealousy: he "was enamoured of Isabella, and so enflamedly that his very soule did burne in the sparkeling light of Isabella's eyes" (sig. Hh4v) (*se enamoró de Isabela tan encendidamente, que en la luz de los ojos de Isabela tenía abrasada el alma*) (265). Additionally, there is the jealous sniping of the court ladies: "the Spaniard is a very handsome gentlewoman, but her habite and dressing seemeth very strange, and out of fashion" (sig. Ffir) (*Buena es la española; pero no me contenta el traje*) (249)—that would produce court intrigue: "now that she was growne disfigured, would not that shee should have left them, seeing themselves free from that envie which they bare unto her beautie" (sig. Kk2v–Kk3r) (*como ya estaba fea, no quisieran que se partiera, viéndose libres de la envidia que a su hermosura tenían*) (272). The second half of the moral suggests that tribulation purifies and sanctifies, as the providential accidents suffered by the central characters lead to their greatest advantages. Isabela's poisoning allows Ricaredo to reach a higher state of love that goes beyond the carnal: "if being fayre I did love thee, being now foule I adore thee" (sig. Kk1r) (*si hermosa te quise, fea te adoro*) (270). The Turkish galleys permit him to maintain the pretense of his Protestantism and win Isabela's hand. However, many of their adversities simply signify a hiatus or delay in the plot, such as being shot by Arnaldo and his Algerian captivity. At times adversity is more significant than at other times. Ricaredo's pilgrimage to Rome, his captivity narrative, and the anagnorisis scene among a crowd recall the plots of *Persiles y Sigismunda* (1617) and the Captive's Tale in *Don Quixote* (1605). The English recusant

protagonist is gradually assimilated in this way to narratives that defined Spanish Atlantic subjectivity. His story comes to echo that of his author and is yet another example of “passing.”³⁵ If an English pirate can have his happy ending with a Spanish heiress to a mercantile fortune through the intervention of a heretical English queen, then history, class, religion, and nation possess no weight. Cervantine variations on the image of Elizabeth use her toxic reputation to confront his readers with their own prejudices concerning transparency, painting a religiously variegated picture of early modern England and invoking shared features of noble culture such as liberality and justice. But at the same time, the representation depends upon the dark shadows lightened by the idealizing strain of romance. Although the queen’s and English involvement in piracy and persecution lie beneath the surface, romance elements make the backdrop benign, and at no point does the representation of the queen trespass into the realm of indecorous gossip and sexual slander, unlike in the work of Sander, Harpsfield, and Ribadeneira.

Elizabeth I’s strange absence from the imaginative fiction of Spain’s Golden Age is also apparent from her virtual invisibility on the stage, despite the *comedia*’s predilection for female monarchs. The temptation to offer variations on the consecrated image of the English queen as a stubborn heretic and demonic persecutor of the godly is apparent in one of her only appearances: Antonio Coello’s romantic play, unfortunately titled in transliterated form, *El Conde de Sex* (*The Earl of Essex*), performed in 1633 and printed five years later. The erotic and indecorous presentation of the queen in a state of undress on two crucial occasions in the play, highlighting her allure and anachronistic youth, serves to make this a very different manipulation of her image from that of Cervantes. Here, a play explores the contradiction between the monarch’s body politic and body natural, common in the *comedia* as a theme, with particular emphasis on the queenly female body. In María Cristina Quintero’s view, Coello’s sexualization of Elizabeth builds on her perception as a tragic victim of incestuous lust and underlines “the natural, fallible, and mortal body,” rendering her “an inauthentic, theatricalized, and thoroughly

feminized tyrant.”³⁶ Cervantes resists altogether this version of Elizabeth. The absence of a physical description is telling of her function as another element of romance. Her court is an exotic, wholly female, world into which men intrude awkwardly. The trajectory of the narrative—from an exotic, barbarian north, toward familiar religious sites in Spain and Italy—traces a similar journey to that of *Persiles and Sigismunda* (1617). It casts religious difference as degrees of perfection, rather than Manichean opposition; displaces the journey toward God with one toward perfect love and marriage; and, as Eduardo Olid Guerrero notes, it challenges the entanglement of religion and nation, foregrounding the challenge posed by reason of state thinking.³⁷ The fiction’s oscillation between fantastical and historical verisimilitude models a path between history and desire that makes possible a Spanish girl’s journey to the English court and, in turn, an English girl’s return to Spain. It asks its readers to reflect on the accommodations implicit in transgressing or transcending difference, particularly where material interests or *reputación* are the dominant concerns. The story challenges Spain’s political establishment and its attack on England’s heretical queen, casting her as a figure in between the historical and the literary, an amphibious exemplar of realpolitik and romance.

NOTES

1. Drawing on Alexander Wilkinson, *Libros ibéricos* (618–19). For recent scholarship on the *Historia*, see Freddy Domínguez. I would like to thank Deborah Forteza for drawing my attention to this article.
2. “Apartaos, para el mal olor deste olio no os offenda. Yo estaua en este tiempo en Londres en casa de don Gomez de Figueroa, entonces Conde, y despues Duque de Fera.” First number represents the reference to the recently published translation by Spenser Weinreich.
3. Hoak, “The Coronations,” 137.
4. Mayer, “Sander, Nicholas.”
5. “A mis manos ha llegado un libro del Doctor Nicolas Sandero, varon excelente, de profesion Teologo, y de vida exemplar [. . .] digno de ser leydo de todos. Porque demas que contiene una historia de Reyes poderosos, cuyas hazañas por ser grandes y varias, los hombres dessean saber: es tambien historia

Ecclesiastica, en que se pintan las alteraciones y mudancas que nuestra sancta y catholica Religion (por espacio casi de sesenta años) ha padecido y padece en aquel Reyno.”

6. Christopher Highley, 150.
7. “la niñez tierna del Rey Eduardo [...] oprimida y tyranizada de sus tutores, y gouernadores del Reyno, por mano dellos suelta y sin freno la heregia, hasta que Eduardo murio (no sin sospecha de veneno) y la esclarecida Reyna dona Maria su hermana le sucedio, y con el resplandor de su vida sanctissima, y zelo de la gloria de Dios nuestro Señor, y consejo y poder del Catholico Rey don Phelipe su marido, fueron desterradas las tinieblas de las heregias.”
8. “Y sucediendole su hermana la Reyna Isabel, tiene todo aquel Reyno puesto en conflicto y miseria que cuenta esta historia. De la qual los que la leyeren, aprenderan a guardarse de sus pasiones, e yrse a la mano, y tener la rienda a sus gustos y apetitos; pues vna centella de fuego infernal, que saltó de vna afficion desordenada de vna muger no muy hermosa en el coraçon del Rey Henrique, de tal manera le encendio y transformo, que de defensor de la fee, le troco en cruelissimo perseguidor de la misma fee, y en vna bestia fiera; y abraso y consumio con viuas llamas todo el reyno de Inglaterra: el qual hasta hoy padece y llora su incendio, sin que las continuas lagrimas de los Catholicos alfigidos, ni la sangre copiosa de los Martyres que cada dia se derrama, sea parte para extinguir y apagar.”
9. “fundada sobre incesto y carnalidad.”
10. “Porque Ana era hermana de vna de las amigas de Henrique (que tuuo muchas) y hija de otra: las quales a la sazón viuian. Y aunque parece cosa increíble e indigna de escreuirse aquí, por ser tan abominable y espantosa todavia la dire, por dezirla el Doctor Sandero [...] Por hija del mismo Henrique era tenuta Ana Bolena, y esto con muy graues fundamentos.”
11. “siguiendo las pisadas de tales padres, y hinchendo [*sic*] la medida dellos, con extraordinaria crueldad y tyrania persigue nuestra sancta fee [...] la levadura desta lamentable tragedia, y la funete y rayz de tantas y tan graues calamidades.”
12. “Y para que veamos en que paran los amores desenfrenados de los hombres ciegos, hizo cortar publicamente la cabeça a la misma Ana Bolena su querida (que siempre fue hereje *Lutherana*) por auer sido deshonesta, y rebueltose con muchos hombres antes que se casasse con el Rey, y despues, y por auer tenido abominable ayuntamiento con su propio hermano: condenandola por

- adultera, e incestuosa los juezes, entre los quales fue vno Thomas Boleno, que llamauan su padre: aunque no lo era.”
13. “teniendo a Isabel por illegitima y bastarda, mando publicar por Reyna de Inglaterra y de Hybernia, a Maria Reyna de Escocia, que estaua casada con Francisco Delfin de Francia su hijo.”
 14. “Porque viendo que hauia nacido de matrimonio condenado por la Sede Apostolica, y que podia hauer duda en su illegitimidad y en el derecho que tenia a la succession del Reyno conforme a los sagrados Canones, por no verse en este peligro y conflicto, quiso dar al traues con ellos.”
 15. “sinto . . . tanto, que se encruelecio y embrauecio: y conuocadas sus Cortes establecio algunas leyes atrozes contra los que seguian la Religion Catholica.”
 16. “hombre sagaz, y promptissimo, y habilissimo para qualquier cosa, y que se sabe seuir marauillosamente del ingenio, consejo, y consciencia, para todo lo que quiere: y por esto con tanto artificio se hauia mostrado Catholico en tiempo de la Reyna Maria.”
 17. García Cárcel, *La leyenda negra*, 82.
 18. Wright, “From Drake to Draque,” 29.
 19. Vega, *La Dragontea*, 449, 453, 457, 469–70. “Bien conoció la Reina tu gran pecho”; “aquel heroico hecho”; “¿Quién como tú se opuso al fuerte paso?”; “España ha tenido en más estima / aquellos tus donaires celebrados.”
 20. “Mi hermano Bartolo / se va a Inglaterra / a matar al Draque / y a prender la reina.” See also the chapter in this volume by Jesús-David Jerez-Gómez.
 21. “Aquí yace Jezabel, / Aquí la nueva Atalía, / del oro antártico arpía, / del mar incendio cruel.”
 22. Wright, “From Drake to Draque,” 34. Wright’s essay is a masterful analysis of the ambivalent attitudes implicit in the poem. See also Alejandro García Reidy’s chapter in this volume dedicated to Lope’s poetic image of Elizabeth I.
 23. “remate de la Historia”; “por justos respetos”; “se sirva de ella, [si] se le pareciere que hay cosa que pueda aprovechar.” It repeats the accusation of incest: “Ana era . . . hija y hermana de su madre y nieta de su padre . . . [el] mismo Rey Enrique, su padre y marido” (Anne was . . . daughter and sister of her mother and granddaughter of her father . . . King Henry himself, her father and husband) and the imputation of an inhuman persecution.
 24. “La obra de Ribadeneyra, contemplada en su conjunto, refleja a la perfección las tensiones y contradicciones generadas por una empresa en la que los intereses

políticos, estratégicos y económicos se entremezclaron confusamente con las motivaciones religiosas.”

25. “la Universidad más principal de su doctrina, como a una cueva de serpientes, como a puerto seguro de ladrones y corsarios, como a feria universal de tan ponzoñosa mercadería, para desde allí derramarla y extenderla por todo el mundo.”
26. “arenga militar”; “la mayor y mejor parte”; “presidio español.”
27. Burrieza Sánchez, “Los Jesuitas,” 251–2. “la necesidad de defender la intervención militar de Felipe II”; “razona los motivos que condujeron a la empresa.”
28. Sir Richard Wynn, 69, 71.
29. See the discussion of this roman à clef play by Ignacio Arellano.
30. Pando, “Unqueening the queen,” 187.
31. Highley, “A Pestilent and Seditious Book,” 158.
32. Essential bibliography includes the comparison by John Loftis of this play to Shakespeare and Fletcher’s retelling, “Henry VIII and Calderón’s *La cisma de Inglaterra*.” See also the bilingual edition by Anne Mackenzie and Kenneth Muir, *The schism in England*.
33. See María Cristina Quintero, “The Body of a Weak and Feeble Woman” (72). Expanded versions of this and her article on *La cisma* are reproduced in María Cristina Quintero, *Gendering the Crown in the Spanish Baroque Comedia* (chapter 4). See also Esther Fernández’s chapter on Coello’s *El Conde de Sex* in this volume.
34. Translations of the story are taken from James Mabbe’s 1640 translation. Where Mabbe does not translate certain phrases or uses terms to deliberately obscure the religious context of the story, I have used my own translations. This character’s name is Isabel, but she is denominated Isabela by her English family throughout Cervantes’s short story.
35. For an exploration of the theme of identity in Cervantes and “passing,” see Barbara Fuchs, *Passing for Spain: Cervantes and the Fictions of Identity*, 1–20.
36. Quintero, “The Body of a Weak and Feeble Woman,” 87.
37. Olid Guerrero, “The Machiavellian,” 76.

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CHAPTER 9

Elizabeth Tudor, the Elephant, and the Mirroring Cases of the Earl of Essex and the Duke of Biron

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When early modern intellectuals argued that women were unfit for government, they buttressed their opinions with deep-rooted philosophical, legal, and medical traditions supported by the authority of the scriptures, Aristotle, Galen, the church fathers, and ancient historians. For example, Scottish reformer John Knox wrote that female monarchs were “a monstrosity,” and he decided to argue his position in his “First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women,” a pamphlet fundamentally anchored in the unquestionable word of God.¹ Although not directed specifically at Elizabeth, a few months after Knox’s “blast” on female “regiment” or government was published in 1558, Elizabeth Tudor would become the queen of England and would rule the country for the next four decades.

As judgment on Elizabeth Tudor mostly depended on which side of the English Channel literature and history were written, it is not surprising that Spanish official historians and defenders of Counter-Reformation values would consider her a heretic queen and a cruel persecutor of Catholics. For most early modern Spaniards, Protestant Elizabeth Tudor could not be but a criminal “daughter of the blood” (87), or “an abominable monster and idol” (381), as described by religious and political thinker Pedro de Ribadeneyra around 1588.² Góngora’s dubbing her a “libidinous and

ferocious she-wolf” after the Armada defeat, and Lope de Vega’s portrayal of Elizabeth as a ruthless queen both in *La Dragontea* (The Dragontea) (1598), and in his sonnet-epitaph “Here lies Jezebel,” are all well known.³

After the peace treaty of 1604 following Elizabeth’s death and the failure of the protracted marriage negotiations between Prince Charles of England and the Spanish Infanta in 1623, the image still persisted in Lope de Vega’s *La corona trágica* (Tragic crown) (1627) and in the following decade with Antonio Coello’s *El conde de Sex* (The Earl of Essex) (1638).⁴ By the end of the century, the situation had not changed much. As Bances Candamo writes, “[n]o queen has been more disreputable than Elizabeth of England [. . .] she debased herself with the Duke of Biron, with the Duke of Norfolk, whom she decapitated because of her jealousy with Mary Stuart, with the Earl of Essex and with many others” (35).⁵

But if most opinions tended to be religiously biased, partial, and misogynistic, they were not all so extreme and unarguably accepted within early modern Spanish society. Critics have noted, for example, the fictionalized portrayal of Elizabeth I as a wise and just queen in Cervantes’s *La española inglesa* (The Spanish-English lady) (1613).⁶ By the seventeenth century, the examples of queens regnant and regents—Isabel of Castile, Elizabeth I of England, Catherine and Marie de Medici—who had shaped the political landscape of early modern Europe could not be ignored. Even if some political writers like Diego de Saavedra Fajardo (1584–1648) insisted that female rulers were “Europe’s greatest misfortune,” the phenomenon of women in government was indeed visible, and the contradiction between their sinful nature, as described in sermons and conduct books, and the remarkable achievements of such queens as Elizabeth I needed to be reconciled.⁷

In contrast with most poets and playwrights’ exploitation of the queen as the jealous tyrant and murderer of Mary Stuart, Norfolk, and Essex—with the notable exception of Cervantes’s fictionalized history—some providential historians and politicians could rise above religious divides and acknowledge her achievements. Influential humanist and architect of the Neostoic movement Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), when dealing with the question of men and women as rulers in his *Politicorum* (1589), states

that if both are possible, nature and reason prefer men because women have a heart full of deceit, are lewd, and lack strength and constancy (301–303).⁸ But if Lipsius is ambivalent and believes that a man is to be preferred, he concludes that female monarchs can certainly be successful and therefore women cannot be excluded from reigning. “As a matter of fact,” he writes, “have we not read, seen or heard about some excellent queens? Who, being brave, prudent and chaste, *through manly charges have overcome the faults of womanhood*” (302).⁹

By the time Lipsius published his influential *Politicorum*, Queen Elizabeth Tudor had been successfully ruling England for over thirty years and constantly overcoming, as Lipsius’s Tacitean caveat underlines, “the faults of womanhood.” In this essay, I posit that Lipsius’s escape clause for women rulers helps shed light on a particularly flattering image of Queen Elizabeth I of England in the *Historia trágica de la vida del duque de Biron* (The tragic history of the life of the Duke of Biron) (1629), a biography written by Spanish political writer and historian Juan Pablo Mártir Rizo.¹⁰ Although the prevailing negative image of Queen Elizabeth in Spanish letters has attracted much attention—and understandably so—the focus here is to explore and contextualize the significance of a digressive passage on the Duke of Biron’s visit to Queen Elizabeth’s court in the biography. As we shall see in the pages that follow, the passage offers a remarkable portrait of the English monarch as an exemplary ruler possessing the political virtues of prudence, justice, and clemency as well as the essential ability to rule over her own human passions.

Mártir Rizo’s biography—which he and his contemporaries considered an original work—is in fact an adaptation from French historiographer Pierre Matthieu’s *Histoire de France et des choses mémorables advenues aux provinces estrangères durant sept années de paix du règne de Henri IV* (History of France and of the memorable things that happened in the foreign provinces during the seven years of peace under Henry IV), published in Paris in 1605. Assembling the materials on Biron’s rise and fall from Matthieu’s large *Histoire de France* volumes, Mártir Rizo’s biography tells the story of Charles de Gontaut, Duke of Biron (1562–1602), a reputable

military commander who became a grandee and marshal of France, and whose pride and ambition led him to conspire against his king, ultimately leading him to the scaffold in 1602.¹¹

Pierre Matthieu's works—essential pieces in the early modern European networks of circulation—showcase how Spanish political thought developed through a myriad of translations and adaptations that allowed the spread of controversial political concepts and ideas within the Republic of Letters. As I have argued elsewhere, Matthieu's translations and imitations were instrumental in the reception of political ideas, namely Tacitism and Machiavellism, in Spanish baroque letters.¹² If Pierre Matthieu established himself as a successor of Tacitus and Lipsius, he himself, in turn, quickly became a model and a repository of *exempla* for other contemporary historians and political writers. Through this productive cross-pollination of ideas across early modern Europe, this particularly positive image of Queen Elizabeth Tudor made its way into Mártir Rizo's *Historia trágica de la vida del duque de Biron*. It might be argued that enough time had passed since Elizabeth's Armada victory, her frictions with Phillip II, and her death in 1603 for Mártir Rizo to decide to include this passage in his *Historia trágica* a quarter of a century later. But if Mártir Rizo's faithful duplication of the queen's image in his *Historia trágica* might seem contradictory, given the religious and political antagonism between the Catholic and Protestant nations, it also illustrates his engagement with the textual tradition of *imitatio* that defined how he dealt with ancient and contemporary models, as well as the widespread flux of literary borrowings and appropriations that bring to light the extent to which early modern literature was vitally transnational.¹³

Mártir Rizo shaped Matthieu's composite material to fit the form of the biography and decided to include the digressive passage of Biron's visit to England and his encounter with the English queen. What is remarkable in this case is that Rizo could have entirely eliminated the lengthy section about Elizabeth's welcome and speeches, or at least modified it, as he consistently did whenever he felt that Spanish preeminence and reputation had been disparaged by the French historian.¹⁴ According to

most historical accounts, Queen Elizabeth I received Biron in the most flattering manner and did everything in her power to parade before the ambassador all her majestic splendor.¹⁵ The Duke was preceded by his 150 accompanying courtiers, escorted by English gentlemen. All eager to see and be seen, they had to traverse three rooms: first a chamber in which many chief noble English matrons were assembled; from this chamber they passed into a second apartment, occupied by the maidens of the court; in the third, Biron's entourage was saluted by some of the more respected ladies of the realm. The description of Queen Elizabeth's reception by Matthieu and Mártir Rizo is a perfect example of her well-known program of regal magnificence. The Elizabethan grandeur and etiquette intended to impress foreign visitors like Biron and make a political statement of power, prompts our historian to observe that "when it comes to actions truly regal pertaining to the honor and reputation of the crown, all means to elevate and burnish the greatness and the resplendence of the majesty shall be employed so that it can be hoisted to the most sublime of thrones. The Queen of England, who has proven that women can reign as well, and more happily than men, fulfilled this precept better than the Princes of her age."¹⁶

According to Stephen Greenblatt, theatricality in Elizabeth's reign was a calculated construct that would transform her into "an almost magical being, a creature of infinite beauty, wisdom, and power" (167). It's no secret that from the beginning of her reign, Elizabeth, who enhanced the royal model set by former Tudor monarchs, knew how to capitalize on the politics of magnificence that displayed royalty in all its grandeur.¹⁷ Monarchs were thought to be God's representatives on Earth, and for defenders of royal absolutism nothing was more important than highlighting their divine sovereignty. To welcome Biron and his entourage, the queen was seated on her throne, elevated three steps, and two chairs covered with velvet cushions were placed at a lower level. When she recognized the duke, she descended from her chair to greet him, but royal decorum, according to our historians, stopped her from descending all the way: "M. de Biron, you have taken the trouble to visit a poor old woman

whose body holds not a single living thing but for the strong affection she bears to your King, and the judgment to appreciate the merits of his good servants, and gentlemen of your sort.”¹⁸

Not surprisingly, the historians’ representation of Elizabeth as a “poor old woman” underlines her condition as a female monarch. As critics have noted, Elizabeth’s official rhetoric manipulated her era’s traditionally held ideas on the weakness of women. These instances that bring attention to her body natural, a monarch hiding behind the mask of womanly frailty, were deftly used by the queen in order to justify some of the decisions she was forced to make for the preservation of her realm.¹⁹

After a diplomatic exchange of civilities—Biron hands her a letter from Henry and Elizabeth praises the king, rendered in indirect speech (“she said that,” “she proceeded saying that,” and “she replied that”)—she took Biron by the arm and led him to a window where she continued her speech (“more vehemently and in a softer voice”) (33v) and was introduced to some of the noblemen of the duke’s entourage. This display of civilities with the French gentlemen is conveniently used by the historians to laud the queen: “That Queen always endeavored to conquer courageous men and make them her friends, because princes, as they grow older, have more need of such men.”²⁰ The consideration the queen showed by the Duke of Biron, they add, had no equal: she regaled him with everything that there was to see and bestowed upon him highly uncommon favors. The English nobles entertained their French guests magnificently and Elizabeth herself, according to the historians’ account, even played a string instrument, sang, and danced (33v)²¹: “During the day he hunted, and you could see the ladies accompanied by the French noblemen with all the liberties permitted in France, the way they are represented in the *Amadis of England*. Nights were devoted to dancing, performed with great solemnity and with the participation of the ladies.”²² Although for humanist historians, such as Pierre Matthieu and Mártir Rizo, history was inextricably rhetorical and political, the use of poetic devices was not at odds with the historian’s goal of authentication and truthfulness.²³ Their works, written in an elegant language that heightened the ethical and emotional power

of the narrative, welcomed *sententiae* and *exempla*, general reflections, omens, legendary material, digressions, aphorisms, and even references to chivalric romances that made modern historiography appealing to the readers. Queen Elizabeth's courtly entertainments were so sumptuous that the historians felt compelled to use the imagery evoked by one of the books from the Amadis cycle for rhetorical *evidentia* when illustrating the queen of England's contemporary renown for spectacular court grandeur.²⁴

Drawing on ancient historical practices (Greek historians Tacitus and Thucydides are fundamental models), our historians weave into the Biron passage made-up speeches by Queen Elizabeth, Biron, and Essex representing what they thought ought to have been said in a particular situation in order to produce a deeper and more vivid effect upon the reader.²⁵ Although these speeches were inserted into the narrative as part of *inventio*, they were not actual speeches of the queen but representations of how the historians understood the queen would speak and act. They seem to be built upon contemporary official accounts and opinions by politicians, courtiers, envoys, and ambassadors available to official historians such as Pierre Matthieu when writing contemporary history.

After Queen Elizabeth had shown Biron "many signs of her greatness and strength of will" she decided it was time for him to see "a strange example of her justice" (34r). If in the first part of the queen's representation the common thread was regal *maiestas*, now the royal virtues of prudence and clemency would be the key elements of her praise.²⁶ From the window where they stood, Elizabeth pointed out to Biron the decaying heads of some traitors who had conspired against her kingdom: "Among them, there was the head of the Earl of Essex, for whose punishment she had to vanquish her heart and force her will."²⁷ Here we read Elizabeth's inflamed response over Essex's treason:

Because (she said) that everything that a Prince could say and do for the love of a subject, I have said it and done it. I raised him from the dust and made him my equal in authority [. . .] I have been assaulted by so many treasons and misfortunes that in order to reign safely, I have been

obliged to rule more harshly than the sweetness of my nature allowed me to. If God has guarded me against external enemies, I have defeated the internal ones, and I'd rather reign safely with justice than longer because of clemency.²⁸

Again, illustrating what Elizabeth ought to have said, historians underscore once again her condition as a woman who has to overcome her own 'sweet nature' in order to impart justice. If, according to the queen's words, justice supersedes clemency, one cannot go without the other, and as a true Christian monarch she did show compassion toward the Earl, expecting him to confess and repent, which he did not do: "Nonetheless, I did not want to judge him nor execute him, without giving him the opportunity to benefit from my mercy and repent: if in the mist of the indignation of my justice had he shown contrition and repentance, like rain is indebted to night dew, I would have considered myself gratified, his tears would have made me cry, and I would have truly pardoned his life even if I knew that he deserved to die."²⁹

In the end, what made it impossible for the queen to exercise her Christian clemency was Essex's haughtiness and pride. Moreover, and more importantly, her speech about her decision to behead Essex foregrounds the controversial question of clemency and justice in relation to regicide and tyranny in Europe, compounded in this case by Elizabeth's condition as a female ruler.³⁰ Besides Essex's execution in 1601, the queen had to put her justice to the test many times during her long reign, most notably during the Northern Rebellion in 1569 and the executions of the Duke of Norfolk and Mary Stuart.³¹ When Pierre Matthieu briefly sketches Elizabeth's biography in another section of his massive *Histoire de France*, clemency cannot be extricated from her gender: "Her means to maintain herself in power were seen as severe: but clemency in her sex would have lost her" (494).³²

In her speech to Biron, the queen underscores that her ultimate intent was the preservation of her realm from conspiracies and treason. Humanist historians insisted on the secondary causes of human events in order to

highlight their didactic value and make them relevant to the moment. For a queen who had to face more than twenty conspiracies and assassination attempts during her reign (some even before she ascended the throne), governing happily, or successfully, meant persecuting plotters and punishing treason.³³ In their discourses on conspiracies and tyrannicide, both Machiavelli (*Discourses*, III, 6) and Lipsius (*Politicorum*, IV, 10), when discussing what contributed to the destruction of a reign, had warned monarchs about those who were moved by ambition and ingratitude and acted against their king and kingdom.

Lipsius's ideas on justice and clemency, the two "big luminaries" of princely virtues (*Politicorum*, II, 10), I believe inform Mathieu's views on Queen Elizabeth's political tactics. According to Lipsius, justice "should be administered in equal measure to all, and with moderation, without too many laws" (321). Similarly, (and Seneca is one of his fundamental models) clemency "unites all that which adorns the scepter," and for "those who moderate their rule through kindness and clemency, everything has been bright and joyful" (325/327). For Lipsius, clemency has to be adopted by the monarch "on the basis of judgment. For without judgment, Clemency will be mere weakness and apathy, even a fault; and certainly not a virtue" (327). Judgment and *exempla*, together with past laws, are essential to impart "clement justice," as Matthieu and Mártir Rizo have Elizabeth state: "I pray heaven that your king, my brother, may be in good terms with clemency. I know that if I were in his position we would have seen decapitated heads in Paris as well as in London. We need not create new laws nor invent new instruments of death to punish the guilty. Past examples suffice, and the good ones can be told apart from the bad."³⁴ Here Elizabeth is alluding to Henry IV's known acts of clemency toward his enemies that put an end to the wars of religion that devastated France in the second half of the sixteenth century.³⁵ Henry's clemency, in turn, would be tested the following year when he was forced to behead the Duke of Biron for treason. According to some contemporary accounts, when hearing about Biron's conspiracy, the queen associates her experience executing Essex with Henry IV's predicament.³⁶

In the end, in reality and in fiction, Biron's story cannot but be read analogically, in which readers, knowing what awaits Biron, were reading about two treasons at the same time. Both Essex and Biron rebelled against a generous and forgiving monarch; both plotted against the preservation of their respective kingdoms; and they both had to be punished. Instead of representing the queen as a merciless tyrant, Matthieu and Mártir Rizo show her in her most favorable light: her decision was a question of reason of state and of political survival. Again, we cannot dismiss as insignificant the fact that, during the translation of Matthieu's passage into Spanish for his biography, Mártir Rizo does not insert any of the traditional and prevailing negative opinions about the English queen as a tyrant. If he does not take aim at other widely decried beheadings and executions ordered by the queen, such as those of Mary Stuart or the Duke of Norfolk, it is because in his view reasons of state, and not tyranny, forced her to send Essex to the scaffold:

All the sentiment I have of the death of that unhappy man is solely because of his ingratitude. I loved him more than any other man in my realm, and I had granted him more benefits than services he had done [. . .]. The origins of evil do not come from heaven but from bad actions, and from ambition without moderation. I never had any other design for him that I did not deem straight or just, but he turned his will and affects against me, confused suspicion with sincerity, and gratitude with ambition; and I had to turn patience into furor.³⁷

The queen fiercely manages to extricate herself from the reasons that pushed her to send Essex to his death, which are the same that would send her interlocutor to the scaffold the following year. Second causes, in this case unbridled political ambition without moderation, are the root of Essex and Biron's respective demises. Her final words to Biron, which encapsulate Essex's vices of arrogance and pride, and her *peroratio's* emotional appeal, are so arresting ("And there you see the end of he who left in the world but the ignominy of his life and the bad smell of

his head”) that, according to our historians, it would have sufficed for those listening to her to “evaporate the bad humors of the movements that they had in their stomachs.”³⁸ Oscillating from Essex to Biron (and vice versa), our historians conclude with a didactic *sententia* that glosses the whole digression: “Had the Duke of Biron heeded this example he would have thought twice about his business and left the path that was taking him unwaveringly to meet identical misfortune.”³⁹

Once Mártir Rizo closed the episode of Biron’s encounter with the queen, he reminded his Spanish readers that very little had been said so far about the figure of the Earl of Essex. And here the Spanish translator turns to another section of Matthieu’s massive *Histoire de France* (book IV, second narration), to extract another building block in order to complete his outline of the rise and fall of an impetuous young man of great charm and culture who, driven by political and military success, became the older queen’s favorite, betrayed her trust and the realm’s peace, and had to be sent to the scaffold.⁴⁰ The justifying principle of this new digression of the English episode hinges on the idea of *varietas*, compounded here by the traditional didactic mission of history writing:

We, in continuation of the story, have treated about the Earl of Essex without saying who he was, but it won’t be unrelated to our purposes to refer his case in a brief digression; for it is well permitted to the one who writes to deviate at times from the main subject to overflow the spirit with the greater delight produced by the variety of things. And history would unjustly bear the title of mistress of life, mirror and model of human actions if it did not observe and reveal things that, due to the excellence of their virtue, are to be imitated, or otherwise reprehended because of the disgrace and horror of their vice.⁴¹

The digression on Essex’s life and death, as we have seen, is a Baroque *mise en abîme* of the entire biography that, as a whole, intensifies the *pathos* of a tragic life while portraying the growing quandaries of the relationship between monarchs and royal favorites relevant to the kings

and kingdoms of France, England, and Spain. The exaltation of the figure of Elizabeth is set as a model of how to negotiate the dangerous balance between the personal passions that can take hold of a prince and the prudent exercise of power. If Lipsian Neostoicism's weight on *prudencia* drew on Tacitean political *exempla* fit for contemporary application, for Matthieu and Mártir Rizo contemporary history was equally pertinent, and characters such as the queen, Essex, and Biron were as relevant as the traditional ancient models like Sejanus, Jezebel, or Brutus. Even if Matthieu and Mártir Rizo share many of the prejudices toward women rulers and portray Elizabeth as a queen who had to overcome her natural condition "*through manly charges*," going back to the Tacitean quote by Lipsius, they ultimately defend a monarch who knew how to disentangle herself from her affections.⁴² Ultimately, Elizabeth's prudent performance in the Biron episode raises her as an exemplary monarch to the point that her decision to behead Essex became, in the eyes of our historians, a "worthy example of an extreme and great justice. The Queen of England, at least in this part, shall be praised in the centuries to come. She has been relentless in the persecution of crimes of state by factions and seditions. The Elephant is the hieroglyphic of a Prince of severe justice who never bends its knees and does perpetual war to serpents and poisonous beasts. She never put her affections over the wellbeing of the State."⁴³

Many early modern iconographic depictions of the elephant—and here the image largely evokes Caesar's coin of the elephant trampling on the serpents—supported the representation of a wise and prudent monarch usually associated with reason."⁴⁴

Historiographical and dramatic uses of the figures of Biron and Essex as contemporary models of the treacherous ministers in the European Republic of Letters also illustrate the unconstrained circulation and appropriation of texts beyond cultural and religious divides. Neostoicism sought to reconcile Stoic philosophy with Christianity, and Catholics and Protestants found a common ground on it. Neosticism as a philosophical and political movement served the absolutist state, be it Catholic or Protestant.

Regardless of the religious conflicts that opposed Catholic France and Spain with Protestant England, Neostoicism was pervasive and adaptable, and as the Essex and Biron cases reveal, Catholic and Protestant humanists drew on their common Christian bond and used it as an active wisdom method to tackle the questions of political loyalty in the absolutist state.⁴⁵

Biron's execution, like that of the Earl of Essex, resonated across the European Republic of Letters.⁴⁶ Accounts of his conspiracy and death, also registered by other contemporary French historians such as Jacques-Auguste De Thou, Sully, Mezerai, Jean de Serres, and Victor Palma Cayet, crossed the English Channel and became known in England through Edward Grimeston's translation, *A General Inventory of the History of France*, published in 1607. This translation, in turn, gave playwright George Chapman material for his play, *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of the Duke of Biron*, performed in 1608 at the Blackfriars. In Spain, Mártir Rizo's appropriation of Matthieu's text was the source for Spanish playwright Juan Pérez de Montalbán's *El mariscal de Virón* (The Marshal of Viron), reprinted several times after 1632, as well as Juan Maldonado's burlesque drama *El Mariscal de Virón* (The Marshal of Viron) (1658).

Mártir Rizo's biographies respond to a political environment in the late 1620s.⁴⁷ A well-known figure in the intellectual circles of the third decade of the seventeenth century—and Matthieu's most prolific translator into Spanish—he seems to have been, like many in that decade, captivated by Olivares's political reforms. But by 1629, when his biography appeared, Olivares's politics were becoming widely discredited and his position as Philip IV's all-powerful minister more insecure.⁴⁸

In this context, I believe that Mártir Rizo's biography worked on two levels readily accessible to the seventeenth-century reader: whereas the book addresses the rise and fall of the French Duke and the English Earl, there is yet another layer or subtext that highlights the widespread problem of ministers falling from favor for overstepping the divine prerogatives of monarchs to rule. Mártir Rizo's Spanish readers could thus construe Biron and Essex's exemplary downfall as an impending sign of the dangers faced by a minister who had usurped the king's authority in government affairs,

and whose military and financial reforms were shaking the monarchy. The *Historia trágica*, in its new context and as a new cultural product, could have been potentially read as a warning to the all-powerful minister Olivares to restrain his unlawful control over his monarch.⁴⁹

But also, and perhaps even more importantly, to accentuate in such wonderfully rhetorical speeches the exemplary harnessing of the passions by a woman ruler was to call attention to the need for more effective monarchs. From the perspectives of Lipsius, Matthieu, and Mártir Rizo, Queen Elizabeth's rule managed to bring stability to a country that in the two decades prior to her ascent had been shaken by political and religious turmoil. The "monstrous" canvas of treacherous favorites in the *Historia trágica* is powerfully contrasted by the prudence and the constancy of a monarch whose motto, *semper eadem*, epitomized the key Lipsian virtues of constancy and prudence. In the end, what the historians construct is an exemplary political queen at a time when the exemplarity of monarchs and the protection of their royal prerogatives were essential.

A queen who had secured her domains against all odds a few decades before was extremely relevant in Mártir Rizo's political context. In 1621, Spain ended the peace with the Netherlands, and by 1625 the Empire was also at war with England and France. It became clear that after the Mantuan Wars of Succession between 1627 and 1631, the Habsburgs were losing ground in the political arena. After Charles I's marriage to the French princess Henrietta Maria, and the failed English attack of the Armada in Cádiz in 1625, England and Spain entered into a war that ended in 1630.⁵⁰ The Habsburgs would enter into war with France six years after Mártir Rizo's *Historia trágica* was published, and eventually the power of the Spanish empire would come to a halt at the end of the Thirty Year's War. The example of a queen who had said in one of her speeches to Parliament that she "had not sought to advance [her] territories and enlarge [her] dominions [. . .] was paramount in the political environment of 'conservación' in Spain in those decades."⁵¹

Ultimately, as the modern editor of Lipsius's *Politicorum*, Jan Waszink, notes, "it seems likely that the reign of Elizabeth I influenced Lipsius's

view on the question of women rulers. In his *De Constantia*, he ascribes the peace currently enjoyed by England to the rule of the ‘peaceful sex.’” As Waszink adds, “from the importance of peace in Lipsius’s thought it follows that this is not gratuitous praise” (111); as for the *Politicorum*, Waszink notes, Lipsius’s “concern for peace is one of the central motives of the work” (109). Moreover, in his personal letters Lipsius mentions the “queen’s prudence and how carefully she proceeds with her own people.” He also calls her “most prudent of Queens” (*prudētissima Reginarum*) and “great heroine” (*magna illius Heroinae*).⁵² Not surprisingly, as we have seen, Matthieu and Mártir Rizo relate Queen Elizabeth to the elephant, “the hieroglyphic of a Prince of severe justice who never bends its knees and does perpetual war to serpents and poisonous beasts” (54v-55r) and whose image, in Alciato’s collection of emblems, illustrates warfare and peace.⁵³

Elizabeth’s shrewdness and determination supposedly made Pope Sixtus V remark in 1588, the year of the Armada defeat, “She certainly is a great queen, and were she only a Catholic she would be most dear to us. Just look how well she governs. She is only a woman, mistress of half an island, yet she makes herself feared by all.”⁵⁴ In a 1601 letter addressed to Cristóbal de Moura (1538–1613), one of Philip II’s most trusted ministers, Juan de Silva acknowledges that “the twenty-two years that the Queen of England has spent in the service of the world will be the most memorable thing ever written.”⁵⁵ This is a statement not to take too carelessly—first, because it dates from what is arguably the most difficult period of the Anglo-Spanish rivalries: the last decade of the sixteenth century; and second, because it was endorsed by two of Philip II’s most trusted ministers and advisors. But De Silva and De Moura’s matter-of-fact portrait of Elizabeth, similar to that of Lipsius, Matthieu, and Mártir Rizo, and unlike Lope and Góngora’s poetic recreations, is a straightforward and vigorous appraisal of Elizabeth’s political accomplishments.

It might be argued that, in the end, even if judgments like those voiced by the pope, Lipsius, Matthieu, and Mártir Rizo are predominantly positive, their caveats and cautions on the achievements of an exceptional woman who had to overcome the flaws of her sex made it impossible

Pax.



Turrigeris humeris, dentis quoq; barrus eburni,
 Qui superare ferox Martia bella solet,
 Supposuit nunc colla iugo, stimulisq; subactus,
 Cæsareos currus ad pia templa uehit.
 Vel fera cognoscit concordēs undiq; gentes,
 Proiectisq; armis munia pacis obit.

F iij

Fig. 28. *Emblematum libellus* by Andreas Alciatus. "Emblem 85. Pax." Alciato's emblem and English translation of the *subscriptio* are reproduced here with permission of the University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.

for the queen to “escape the determinism of biology.”⁵⁶ But ultimately, Pierre Matthieu and Juan Pablo Mártir Rizo, historians of the two leading Catholic nations in the seventeenth century, were not far from the truth when they said that Queen Elizabeth’s prudence in state matters during her long and successful reign would be “praised in the centuries to come.”⁵⁷

NOTES

1. For a comprehensive account see King, *Women of the Renaissance*. For the debates for and against women’s “regiment” or rule that ensued in England after Knox’s “Blast,” see Healey, “Waiting for Deborah,” and Shephard, *Gender and Authority*.
2. In his *Advertencias de los católicos ingleses a los católicos franceses, acerca del peligro de los ministros herejes si admiten a la Corona a un Rey herético* (Warning by the English Catholics to the French Catholics on the dangers of heretic ministers if they allow a heretic to be king) (Zaragoza, 1592), a tract he originally translated from the French, official historian Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas refers to the queen as a heretic and a cruel monarch.
3. Lope’s sonnet from his *Rimas humanas* (Human rhymes) (1634) is “De Isabela de Inglaterra” (On Elizabeth of England) (246). Góngora’s verse from “De la Armada que fue a Inglaterra” (From the Armada that went to England) reads, “oh reina torpe, reina no, mas loba libinidosa y fiera” (oh, disreputable Queen, or no Queen at all but a libidinous and ferocious she-wolf) (98). As studied by Janet How Gaines in the context of the European wars of religion, “any woman on the opposing side is considered a Jezebel” (99). E. Phillips calls these poems that circulated across Europe, mostly after Mary Stuart’s execution, *de Jezebelis* poems (162–64). For a panorama on Elizabeth’s complex and changing image in France, see Hooper, *Elisabeth d’Angleterre*, and Doran, *Elizabeth I*.
4. While traditional criticism on *El conde de Sex* (1638) tends to see a rather positive portrayal of the queen (see, for example, Cotarelo y Mori, “D. Antonio Coello y Ochoa.”), Quintero has shown that Coello’s Elizabeth is depicted as an ineffective monarch unable to control her passions (71–87). See Esther Fernández’s chapter 10 in this volume.
5. “Ninguna Reina ha sido más torpe que Isabela de Inglaterra [. . .] ella se humanó con el Duque de Virón, con el de Norfolk, a quien degolló por celos de María Stuard, con el Conde de Essex y con otros muchos.”

6. See, for example, Castro, *El pensamiento de Cervantes* (288), or Lapesa, "En torno a la española" (255). For a recent historical contextualization, see Andrés, "Visión de Inglaterra." For the dialectics between history and fiction in Cervantes's portrayal of the queen in "La española inglesa" (1613) see Montcher, "La española inglesa," and more recently, Olid Guerrero, "The Machiavellian," and Galván "Los católicos." See also chapter 8 by Alexander Samson in this volume.
7. In his *Locuras de Europa* (Follies of Europe) (1748), Saavedra Fajardo states, "La mayor desgracia de Europa es haber caído una parte della en el gobierno de mujeres . . . como vemos en Francia, en Suecia, en Hess y en Piamonte; porque es fuerza que se dejen gobernar de otros que les dan a entender las cosas diferentemente de como pasan" (The worst calamity to have befallen Europe is that one part of the continent fell into the hands of women . . . as we can see in France, Sweden, Hesse, and the Piamonte. For it is natural that women allow themselves be governed by others who tell them things differently from how they really happen) (421). Besides the conspicuous examples of Isabel of Castile, Catherine and Marie de Medici, Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stuart, sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe also witnessed the rule of Philip II's sister, Margaret of Parma, who was regent of the Netherlands; and Philip II's daughter, Isabel Clara Eugenia, who governed Flanders after the death of her husband. Margaret of Savoy became governor and Vicereine of Portugal in 1633, and Queen Christina of Sweden began ruling the country when she turned eighteen years old. For more examples, see Hopkins, *Writing Renaissance Queens* (29).
8. Lipsius's *Politica* was originally published as *Politicorum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex*, hereafter *Politicorum*.
9. See Waszink's comments on Lipsius and Women (111–12). Italics indicate that Lipsius is using Tacitus as a source.
10. The *Historia trágica de la vida del duque de Biron* was published twice in Barcelona: first in 1629 by Sebastián de Cormellas, and then in 1635 by Gabriel Nogues. The work is dedicated to the Grandee of Spain Francisco Diego López de Zúñiga Guzmán Sotomayor y Mendoza, VIII Duke of Béjar (1596–1636), an outstanding military commander under Phillip III and IV. Although the term biography postdates the *Historia trágica*, we use it here for the sake of clarity, instead of the contemporary term *vida*. For a valuable panorama on early modern biography, see Mayer and Woolf, *The Rhetorics of Life-Writing*, and Weiss, *Humanist Biography*.

11. After the Peace of Vervins of 1598, the Duke of Savoy conspired with the Duke of Biron to dismember the French kingdoms aided by the gold ducats and the men secretly provided by the Spanish Crown. On the Spanish side, the Count of Fuentes had an active participation in the plot. Alerted about the conspiracy, Henry IV had Biron condemned for high treason and beheaded in the Bastille. For the conspiracy, see Cano de Gardoqui, *La conspiración*. For the connections between French and Spanish official historiography, see Montcher, "La española inglesa"; for Mártir Rizo's biography of the Duke, see Izquierdo, "Translating History."
12. For Mártir Rizo's political biographies as a genre in seventeenth-century Spain, see Schwartz, "Un género historiográfico." For a recent discussion on Pierre Matthieu's historiography and Mártir Rizo's translations in the development of the genre of political biography in Spain, see Izquierdo (forthcoming).
13. For a good discussion on the subject, see Damrosch, "Translation and National" and Coldiron, *Printers without Borders*.
14. In Mártir Rizo's adaptation, omissions and additions reveal a definite authorial mediation. He eliminates, for example, any traces of the active involvement of the Spanish Count of Fuentes in the Biron conspiracy. In Mártir Rizo's account, historical facts are used to produce a political history in which causes, effects, and nationalistic motivations are rewritten. See Izquierdo, "Translating History." We cannot dismiss the fact that he chose to include the passage on Biron's visit to the Tudor court, placing the whole episode at the beginning of the "Second Part" of his biography. This digressive passage contains a complete depiction of the solemn reception of the Duke of Biron and his 150 noblemen at the English court, the queen's speeches welcoming the duke and explaining to Biron the circumstances regarding the recent execution of the Earl of Essex, and a political outline of Essex's rise and fall. The English translation by Grimeston chronicling Biron's visit eliminates most of the passage. Grimeston introduces Biron's welcoming to the court, the queen's speeches, and states, "The Duke of Biron received all the honours of the Queen and State, that might be given to such a great personage, the particulars whereof I omit for brevity's sake. Having finished his Legation, hee tooke his leave of the Queene" (964).
15. Biron's embassy to England is variously described by other contemporary historians, such as Jacques-Auguste De Thou, Victor Palma Cayet, and François Eudes de Mézeray. Discussion of the historical "truthfulness" of the passages

by Matthieu and Mártir Rizo is beyond the scope of this article, whose aim is to explore the use of the image of the queen by Spanish political writers in the 1620s.

16. “Mas quando se halla en acciones verdaderamente regias, y donde se trata del honor y la reputación de su corona, debe buscar todo aquello que la pueda levantar, y hazer resplandecer la grandeza, y el lustre de su magestad, y ponerla en el mas sublime Solio. La Reyna de Inglaterra que á dado á entender que las mugeres saben reynar tam bien, y mas felizmente que los hombres observó este punto mejor que los Principes de su edad” (29v). Matthieu’s original passage reads, “La Roine d’Angleterre qui a fait voir qu’il appartient aux femmes de regner aussi bien & plus heureusement que les hommes, observe cela mieux que Prince de son age” (94). This is how Grimeston translates this passage: “The Queene of England who hath made good proof that Women may reigne, as well and as happily as Men, observes this better than any Prince of her age . . .” (945). Curiously, the original French superlative (“plus heureusement que”) is maintained by Mártir Rizo but not by Grimeston. All the translations from Mártir Rizo’s Spanish into English are mine.
17. For Lipsius, majesty is “a greatness which commands respect, founded on the credit or virtue or related qualities” (341). For Elizabeth’s early use of magnificence, see McCoy, “This Wonderful”; Doran and Freeman, *The Myth*; and Bezio, *Staging Power*.
18. “Señor Duque de Biron como vos aveys querido ocuparos en la fatiga de venir a ver una pobre vieja, en quien ya en si misma no ay cosa viva, sino la aficion que tiene al Rey, y el juycio en reconocer á sus buenos criados, y cavalleros de vuestra calidad” (30v).
19. See, for an example, her “Tilbury Speech” and her “Golden Age Speech” in Marcus, Mueller et al., *Elizabeth I*. For a detailed study on Elizabeth’s speeches, see Teagues, “Queen Elizabeth,” and Shenk, “Turning Learned.” For Ilona Bell, “During her lifetime and after her death, Elizabeth was celebrated for her rhetorical and linguistic powers, and she was remarkably outspoken for a woman” (7). For Elizabeth’s uses of her “weak and feeble woman” rhetoric (Yes, I am a woman, but . . .), see Green, “I My Self.” For the historiographic tradition of speeches in history writing, see a summary in Kamps, “The Writing.” See the classical study by Kantorowitz, *The King’s* (7–14) for the idea of the king’s two bodies regarding Elizabeth. See also Levin, *The Heart*.

20. "Siempre procuro aquella Reyna grangear los hombres de valor para tenellos por amigos, teniendo los Principes, quanto mayor se hacen mayor necesidad dellos" (33v).
21. Queen Elizabeth capitalized both on rhetoric and performance to fashion her image for political purposes. See Mirabella, "In the sight of all," and Butler, "By Instruments."
22. "De dia yba a caça, donde se vian damas acompañadas de cavalleros Franceses, con todas la libertades permitidas en Francia, de la manera que se representan en el *Amadis de Inglaterra*. La noche estava destinada para los bayles, que se hazian con gran solenidad, y concurso de damas" (34r).
23. Keeping with the traditional mandate of truthfulness in history writing, Matthieu insists on providing readers with references to his sources. His exchanges with key witnesses, his conversations even with King Henry IV himself, and the examples he provides of his use of original sources to write his massive historical narratives are numerous. See Yardeni, *Enquêtes* (321); Izquierdo (forthcoming).
24. Other contemporary ambassadors and writers, for example, "related Elizabeth and her court to the world of chivalric romances. Her music-making helped Elizabeth to create the impression of her court as an alluring, intimate fantasy world in which she, as the unattainable beloved was the central focus of admiration and devotion." See Butler, "By Instruments" (365).
25. See Nider, "Los personajes femeninos," for the uses of *orationes fictae* or speeches in female characters in seventeenth-century political writing.
26. For MacCaffrey, in Queen Elizabeth "the theory and practice of divine-right monarchy coincided; the formal splendors of majesty were congruent with the brute facts of political decision" (433).
27. "Entre estas estava la del Conde de Essex, para cuyo castigo avia vencido su corazón, y forçado a la voluntad" (34r–34v). As is well known, Essex was executed after his failed attempt at courtly rebellion upon his return from a campaign in Ireland. His trial for treason lasted less than a week, and he was beheaded on February 25, 1601.
28. "Porque (dezia ella) todo lo que un Principe puede dezir, y hazer por amor de un subdito, yo lo he dicho, y he hecho. Yo le levante del polvo, y le hize ygual a mi autoridad [. . .] Yo he sido asaltada de tantas trayciones, y infidelidades, que por Reynar con seguridad me ha sido forçoso gobernar mas severamente que permitia la dulçura de mi natural. Dios me ha guardado de los enemigos

- de fuera, y yo me he librado de los de dentro, y quiero antes reynar segura con justicia, que dilatadamente por clemencia” (34v–35r).
29. “Con todo esto, yo no hize juzgar su causa, ni darle muerte sin darle tiempo para que se valiesse de mi misericordia, y se arrepintiese: si entre la indignacion de mi justicia, manifestasse la contricion de su arrepentimiento, como la llubia por el sereno yo quedava satisfecha, sus lagrimas me huvieran hecho llorar, y verdaderamente que le hubiere dado la vida aunque reconociera que merecia la muerte” (35v).
 30. For an overview on the subject, see Braun, *Juan de Mariana*.
 31. As studied by Villeponteaux, Elizabeth’s “desire to stress her natural clemency and deny accusations of tyranny” permeates her entire speech to Parliament in 1586 (right before Mary Tudor’s execution) “as does her concern about how such accusations will reflect on her as a woman. She goes on to give a lengthy justification of her rule in which she carefully identifies herself as a just Christian monarch, the opposite of a tyrant” (30).
 32. “Les moyens pour se maintenir ont semblé sévères: mais la clémence avec le sexe l’eust perdu.” For Hammer, “war posed particular difficulties for female rulers such as Elizabeth. Raleigh’s tone, and especially his comment that ‘her majesty did all by halves,’ hints at the widespread contemporary belief that Elizabeth was unable to lead England to victory because she was a woman.” Although she was publicly praised as a war leader, he adds, her generals and commanders “believed that her gender made her indecisive, unable to persist with a course of action, excessively parsimonious and prone to pacifist sentiments.” Essex “repeatedly complained that Elizabeth’s female qualities (as he saw them) interfered with her performance as a war leader” (*Elizabeth’s Wars*, 2).
 33. According to Parker, “Elizabeth I of England survived over twenty plots against her life” (147).
 34. “Permita Dios que vuestro Rey mi hermano se halle bien con la clemencia. A fe que si yo estuviera en sus plantas que se huvieran visto cabeças cortadas en Paris como en Londres. No es menester para esto formar nuevas leyes, o inventar nuevas formas de muerte para castigar a los culpados. Los exemplos de sus predecesores les son suficientes, y bien puede distinguir los buenos de los malos” (35v–36r).
 35. Henry IV’s clemency was one of the most important elements in the pacification of France after the Wars of Religion and an essential component of his

legend. For the pros and cons of Henry's clemency, see De Waele, "Clémence royale" and "Image de force."

36. Juxtaposing the historians' made-up speech and the response of the queen to Biron's treason, as registered by Ambassador Christophe de Harlay, Count of Beaumont, will serve to cross-examine to what extent her representation by Matthieu and Mártir Rizo and the contemporary accounts on her political sense of justice coalesce. This is, according to the Ambassador, the queen's reaction when hearing about Biron's conspiracy: "In such cases there is no middle course, we must discard mercy as too hazardous and seize extreme measures. He who lays hand upon the scepter of a king grasps a fire-brand, which must destroy him; there is no grace for him. To pardon people of this description would be to do direct injustice, and to draw upon oneself eternal contempt and unavoidable destruction. I doubt not that the king of France, unaccustomed to such events, and inclined to forgive and forget injuries, will suffer much before he can resolve to destroy a man whom he so greatly loved and honored. But too well have I experienced how strong is this disposition of the mind, and shall feel this sorrow through my life; where, however, the welfare of my dominions is concerned, where I was obliged to give an example, and look to the security of my successors, I was bound not to my own inclination." Report of June 26, 1622, Letter 60 (Raumer, 183).
37. "Todo el sentimiento que tengo de la muerte de aquel infeliz, no es mas de por su ingratitud. Yo le amaba mas que a otro de mi Reyno, y mas beneficios le havia hecho, que el me havia servido. [. . .] No proceden del cielo los principios de las maldades sino de la mala regla, y inmoderacion de la ambicion. Jamas tuve para con el otro intento sino recto, y justo, y el bolvio contra mi la voluntad, y afectos, mezclo la sospecha con la sinceridad, y con la deuda la ambicion: y yo cambie la paciencia en furor" (37r–37v).
38. "Veys aqui pues qual ha sido el fin de aquel que no dexo en el mundo sino la ignominia de su vida, y el mal olor de su cabeza. [. . .] Esto era suficiente para hazer que todos los que la consideravan evaporassen los malos humores de los movimientos que tenian en el estomago" (38r).
39. "Si el Duque de Biron se hubiera valido deste exemplo, mejor pensara en sus negocios, y dexara el camino que sin duda le conducia a semejante desdicha" (38v).
40. See Hammer, "Absolute," and more recently, Gajda, *The Earl of Essex*. "In 1595 Essex became so frustrated with Elizabeth that he and the Spanish refugee

Antonio Pérez privately nicknamed her Juno—the classical goddess who sought to thwart the hero Aeneas, and the future greatness of Rome—out of sheer female irrationality. In 1598, Essex bluntly told a French envoy that England's government was hampered by 'two things . . . delay and inconstancy, which proceeded chiefly from the sex of the queen'" (Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, 2).

41. "Nosotros en prosecusion de la historia avemos tratado del Conde de Essex, sin dezir quien era, no sera fuera de proposito referir el sucesso suyo en una breve digression, que bien se le permite al que escribe desviarse alguna vez del sujeto principal a que atiende, para colmar el animo de mayor deleyte que redunde de la variedad de las cosas: y injustamente tendria la historia titulo de maestra de la vida, de espejo, y modelo de las acciones humanas, sino notasse, y hiziesse evidentes varias cosas, que por la excelencia de su virtud deven ser imitadas, o reprehendidas por la verguença, y horror de su vicio" (39v–40r). In Spain, the Earl of Essex was remembered for the infamous capture and sack of Cádiz in 1596. Even if the shameful defeat in Cádiz was decried by Spanish writers, when evaluating Essex's life after his death in the *Historia trágica*, both Matthieu and Mártir Rizo recall the Cádiz episode and point out that it would have been better for the Earl to have died with glory in "the great enterprise in Cádiz" (54r–v). In the 1590s, Essex had also been acquainted with the infamous exile Antonio Perez, Phillip II's former Secretary of State. Furthermore, Essex's intellectual circle and interest were representative of the Tacitean aphoristic style in England. In a curious junction of life and literature, Essex's death became the object of Tacitean analysis in England. For detailed discussion of Essex's political significance, see Connolly and Hopkins.
42. One contemporary account about Elizabeth's relationship with her favorites and counselors has come down to us by French Ambassador Bouillon. In 1596 he wrote, the "Earl of Essex is at present most in favour." According to him, "Those whom she has loved have certainly had much power in affairs, but never all. She has always had the praiseworthy prudence to leave much in the hands of able statesmen and by their consequence to maintain a balance against those who enjoyed her personal favour" (Raumer, 179).
43. "Exemplo al fin notable de una extrema y gran justicia. La Reyna de Ingalaterra alomenos en esta parte será alabada en los siglos que han de venir. Que ha sido inexorable en la persecucion de los delitos de estado de facciones, y de sediciones. El Elefante es el Hieroglífico de un Principe de severa justicia,

que jamas dobla las rodillas, y haze perpetua guerra a los serpientes, y bestias venenosas. Jamas ella prefirio sus aficiones al bien del Estado” (54v–55r).

44. The image of the prudent elephant, found in Pliny’s *Natural History* (8.1, 77–79), is also used by Baltasar Gracián (1601–58) in *El Discreto* (The complete gentleman) (1646). See Egido’s comments on Gracián’s advice to be “as vigilant as the lion, as prudent as the elephant, as clever as the fox, as crafty as the wolf” (in Gracián, 345, note 422). The elephant as the epitome of prudence, greatness, temperance, piety, and revenge against enemies is also discussed at length by Andrés Ferrer de Valdecebro in his *Gobierno general, moral, y politico. Hallado en las aves mas generosas y nobles: sacado de sus naturales virtudes y propiedades* (General, moral and political government, found in the most generous and noble birds, taken from their natural virtues and properties) published by Casa Cormellas in 1696 (Second book, chapter 13). As a curious historical note, in 1591 King Henry IV sent Queen Elizabeth an elephant as a gift. See also Delisle.
45. For Neostoicism in Europe, see Tarrête; in England, see McCrea.
46. For other seventeenth-century European appropriations of the historical figure of Essex (by Corneille, Gaultier de Coste, Claudio Boyer, Niccolo Biancolelli, Coello, etc.), see Schmiedel.
47. By 1625, Mártir Rizo had published the lives of Sejanus, Philippa the Catanian, and the history of the death of Henry IV, all translated by Pierre Matthieu. He devoted two original biographies to Seneca and Maecenas, published in 1625 and 1626, respectively. See Izquierdo (forthcoming).
48. As Elliott points out, during the Mantuan conflict Olivares was “partially excluded from the decision-making process, while the king handled a great deal more business by himself. According to him, the Mantuan affair was “probably the worst [. . .] blunder of his twenty-two years in power” (*Richelieu and Olivares*, 112).
49. Some decades later, as Quintero has studied in connection with Coello’s *El conde de Sex*, the “play might have been in part intended as a cautionary tale for Phillip IV, whose dependence on the most famous *privado* in Spanish history, the formidable Count Duke of Olivares (1587–1645), was a source of speculation and concern to many of his subjects” (81).
50. See Elliott, *The Count Duke*, 400–403.
51. Quoted in Levin (145). The question of “conservación” regarding the conflicts in the Netherlands was controversial and difficult to solve (Elliott, *El conde-duque*,

- 89). The Anglo-Spanish War (1625–1630), which ended with the Treaty of Madrid (1630), was a disastrous affair for England. See Brown and Elliott.
52. Waszink, *Politica*, 111–112. It is interesting to note that the contemporary English translation of Lipsius's *Politica* omitted the chapter on female rule, so it was still not quite sensitive enough to English concerns. Thanks to Jan Machielsens for this note.
53. Alciato, 85. "The elephant, with its tower-bearing shoulders and ivory tusk, a beast accustomed to dominate the conflicts of Mars with savage ravings, has now submitted its neck to the yoke: subdued by goads, it draws Caesar's chariot to the holy temples. Even the beast recognizes nations reconciled on every side, and rejecting the weapons of war, it performs the duties of peace." Alciato's emblem and English translation of the *subscriptio* are reproduced here with permission of the University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.
54. Quoted in Kamen (319); and Rowse (14).
55. "[L]os 22 años que la reina de Inglaterra ha gastado en servicio del mundo, serán en género la cosa más notable que se halla escrita," (quoted in Kamen, 319–20). De Silva's comment goes on: "porque no teniendo más ayuda que la de nuestros pecados y la de su Consejo, ha salido con hacerse amar y temer en su reino más que todos sus predecesores, ayudado como le ha placido y convenido, a los enemigos de Francia y España, reinando en la mar como en la isla, cortando cuantas cabezas le podían estorbar, y la de otra reina entre ellas; paseado con sus navíos el mundo a la redonda, y bailando y danzando como si no hubiera tenido que hacer" (because without any other help than our own sins and her own counsel, she has managed to be loved and feared in her kingdom more than any of her predecessors, and has assisted at her will and convenience the enemies of France and Spain, ruling both over the seas and her island, cutting the heads off of anyone who would disquiet her, even the head of a queen. She has paraded her ships around the world while dancing and celebrating as if she had nothing to do) (Pidal y Salvá, 570). Moura's reply letter reads, "El retrato de la reina de Inglaterra es lo más natural que tengo visto, y a quien con más razón se puede tener envidia *salvantis* el papa . . ." (Your portrait of the Queen of England is the most natural picture that I have seen; she is decidedly worthy of the utmost envy, *salvantis* the Pope) (Pidal y Salvá, 572).
56. Levin & Bucholz (xxix). See also Doran, "Elizabeth I," and Heisch.
57. See note 41 above.

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CHAPTER 10

Unma(s)king the Queen

Elizabeth I on the Early Modern Spanish Stage

ESTHER FERNÁNDEZ

The fact is that when the fetish status of the secret is achieved, it is the skin of the secret that vibrates with the sacred light, intimation of the public secret within.

—MICHAEL TAUSSIG, *Defacement: Public Secrecy and the Labor of the Negative*

In 1586, at Richmond Palace, Elizabeth I stated to the representatives of the Lord and Commons, “We princes, I tell you, are set on stages, in sight and view of all the world duly observed; the eyes of many behold our actions; a spot is soon spied in our garments; a blemish quickly noted in our doings.”¹ This assertion justifies the image that the queen displayed throughout her reign vis-à-vis her two bodies. Indeed, her self-contained appearance, her eternal youthfulness, and the mystified virginity that she cast upon herself transformed Elizabeth I into a performative entity concealed behind an enigmatic public mask. In this sense, Elizabeth was, above all, a baroque entity, owing to the interplay of appearances that she created for herself, as Lytton Strachey has argued: “From her visible aspect to the profundity of her being, every part of her was permeated by the bewildering discordances of the real and the apparent” (10).² Nonetheless, this performative agency displayed by the queen herself never materialized on stage during her lifetime.³ Playwrights would have to wait until her death in 1603 in order to transform her into a fictional character in plays such as Thomas Heywood’s (1575–1641) *If you Know not me, you*

Know Nobody (1605) and Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* (1613).⁴ Once Elizabeth came on stage, however, her popularity as *dramatis personae* quickly spread from England to other European theaters, and certain episodes and anecdotes from her private and political life soon became coveted dramatic material.⁵

Elizabeth I on the Spanish Stage

In early modern Spanish drama, there are only two extant plays in which Elizabeth occupies a central role: *El Conde de Sex* (The Earl of Essex) by Antonio Coello, staged in 1633; and *La reina María Estuarda* (Queen Mary Stuart) by Juan Bautista Diamante, staged in 1660. Although sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *comedias* dealing with foreign historical affairs are few in comparison to those that deal with domestic issues, plays focusing on the Tudor dynasty tend to illustrate what Don Cruickshank has identified as a "selective historical memory" (124). A blatant example is *La cisma de Ingalaterra* (The English schism) (1627) by Calderón de la Barca, which is notable for Elizabeth's absence from the plot: "This palpable absence in a play written some two decades after Elizabeth's death is a telling example of how Calderón used the *comedia* as a medium for enacting selective historical memory and for replacing disturbing recent events with a narrative that was ideologically more palatable to his audience."⁶ While both Coello and Diamante refer directly to the English queen and make her a character in their plays, they both exercise a distorted "selective historical memory" in how they portray her, and they even leave out her name from their titles to deliberately conceal her agency in the plots.⁷

No doubt the English queen, as presented, is a product of the playwrights' fantasies, yet some historical details find their way into their portraits of her. The unavoidable intrusion of reality into fiction was a common trait in the vast majority of portrayals of female rulers in early modern drama, as Theodora A. Jankowski has argued:

No author created a woman ruler character who was uniquely his, completely fictional, or totally unrelated to some existing notion of what a

woman ruler had been in the near or distant past. This seems to indicate that while some dramatists felt comfortable—for whatever reason(s)—with the notion of portraying a “historical” queen regnant, none felt comfortable with the notion of creating a sovereign that was completely his own. I would suggest that this plundering of history for women rulers occurred for various reasons, primarily because what it meant to be a woman sovereign was so unknown that existing women rulers, like Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, had to define ways to rule while they did so. If these women rulers themselves—and their tame political theorists—were unsure of what it meant to be a woman sovereign, it is understandable that playwrights would be equally unclear. Like Knox and Aylmer, these dramatists might look to history to help them explain how and why women ruled. (189–90)

Even if history plays a part in both *comedias*, neither Coello nor Diamante’s works can be considered faithful depictions of female kingship, given the playwrights’ extreme fictionalization of the monarch and their insistence on delving into her private life. In this chapter, I trace how these two plays depart radically from historical events in order to create instead a bastardized image of Elizabeth I in ways that reflect Spain’s political and ideological sensibilities at the time. To this end, my main point of reference will be *El Conde de Sex*, in which Queen Elizabeth is the protagonist, but I will systematically refer to *La reina María Estuarda* in order to broaden her dramatic portrait from another perspective that I consider complementary.

El Conde de Sex is a *drama de privanza*, a play about the fall of a royal favorite, inspired by the relationship between Elizabeth I and Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex (1565–1601). By contrast, *La reina María Estuarda* shares characteristics with the *auto sacramental*, a short religious allegorical play, and focuses on the beheading of Mary at the hands of her cousin, Elizabeth. Although the two *comedias* involve different episodes from Elizabeth I’s life, they both confront the queen with the moral dilemma of having to choose between her emotions (her body natural) and her state duties (her body politic).⁸ *El Conde de Sex*, which appeared

in print in the *Parte treinta y una de las mejores comedias que hasta hoy han salido* (Part thirty-one of the best comedias produced until this time) (1651), and thereafter in *El mejor de los mejores libros que han salido de comedias nuevas* (The best of the best books of new comedias that has come out) (1653), is considered the first work ever to look into the relationship between Elizabeth I and Devereux, as Jesús Laiz rightly points out.⁹ Coello's play was followed by a whole series of later works that recreated and fantasized about the relationship of the monarch and her favorite, although none of them referenced *El Conde de Sex* as their original source.¹⁰

Apart from its thematic originality, the play was distinctive for having been attributed to King Philip IV. This theory, now confirmed as false, was widely believed throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and could have been one of the reasons for its numerous reprints and performances, as proved by the long list of productions recorded in the Hospice's Archives of Valladolid.¹¹ Critics, for their part, have considered *El Conde de Sex* from very different viewpoints that range from a powerful tragedy, a historical forgery that blends the tragic and the comic in a dissonant way, to a suggestive psychological study of Elizabeth I.¹²

Although this *comedia* is based on a true event, it sorely misrepresents the historical circumstances surrounding it.¹³ The plot begins with an attempted murder of Isabel (Elizabeth I), which is thwarted by the Conde (Earl of Essex). From that moment on, a love triangle develops between Isabel, her lady-in-waiting, Blanca—a disguised Scottish rebel and the Conde's lover—and the Conde himself. The Conde is intrigued by the lady he saves, whose identity was hidden behind a mask. Blanca will inform him later of the failed plot by the Scottish rebels to kill the queen, the very lady the Conde saved. Blanca again attempts to murder Isabel while the queen is sleeping. When the Conde tries to stop her, Isabel awakens and sees the pistol in his hands.¹⁴ Afterward, Isabel must confront the dilemma of whom to condemn, Blanca or the Conde, who previously saved her life. Her advisors and all the evidence point to the Conde, who refuses to implicate Blanca and ends up being unjustly beheaded. Only after his death does the truth come to light, much to the queen's horror.

In Coello's play, *María Estuarda* (Mary Stuart) is mentioned only indirectly in one of Blanca's monologues when she justifies her desire for vengeance against Isabel for executing the Scottish queen. María's death is precisely the story that Juan Bautista Diamante narrates in his play. Similarly to Elizabeth I, Mary Stuart continues to be a source of inspiration for a vast corpus of novels, plays, and films, as Paulson and Álvarez Detrell note.¹⁵ For Mackenzie, the originality of Diamante's version resides in its being the first stage version of the legendary and apocryphal encounter of the two queens.¹⁶ Although the possibility of this meeting was alluded to in a missive that Mary sent to Elizabeth in 1568, the Spanish playwright was the first to fully develop the episode; two centuries later, Friedrich Schiller would make it legendary in his celebrated *Maria Stuart* (1800). Like Coello, Diamante does not attempt to maintain any historical faithfulness; rather, he provides a Catholic perspective on how political and religious tensions between the two monarchs were perceived during the persecution of English Catholics in Spain.¹⁷

On a more detailed level, *La reina María Estuarda* narrates the conflict between María and Isabel in terms of diplomatic and sentimental interests that would culminate in the execution of the Scottish queen at the hands of her cousin. After María's navy is defeated, she arrives at the English court seeking political asylum. Although in their first meeting, Isabel demonstrates her generosity by offering support, the love that Eduardo, a courtier in María's entourage, expresses toward the Scottish queen makes Isabel jealous. Jealousy is soon added to the suspicion that María has hatched a plot to overthrow Isabel. The English monarch condemns her cousin to death by beheading and requires that Eduardo witness the cruel punishment.

Sensing the Queen's Body Natural

The prototype of the female ruler in the *comedia* is somehow paradoxical, since models of feminine behavior for the period exalted obedience and subordination, as María Cristina Quintero has points out: "The presence of women and women's bodies on the stage, a performance already

burdened with questions concerning decorum and morality, becomes even more problematic when the dramatic characters being portrayed are women who assume and wield political power and control. How much more discomfiting it must have become when this by turns submissive and transgressive “body natural” was presented time and time again as a body of authority and the bearer of political power—a body politic” (19). For Quintero, the lack of harmonization between the queen’s two bodies, which in turn implies a gendered representation of monarchy,¹⁸ is one of the key features defining Isabel’s character in the plays examined in this chapter.¹⁹ While Ana Lacruz Zúñiga considers Coello’s play as one of the most representative of the queen’s two bodies,²⁰ for Raymond MacCurdy, “what matters most in *El Conde de Sex* is love and jealousy” (220). In Mackenzie’s view, this is not surprising if we consider that Coello, a disciple of Calderón, was more interested in depicting his monarchs’ weaknesses rather than their heroic roles.²¹ I agree with MacCurdy that Coello’s Isabel may be interpreted as a profound study of the vulnerability of a queen trapped in her role as ruler. Her desire to be seen as any other woman is clear from the very first scene, where she appears “in petticoats and corset, half-dressed and wearing a partial mask” (79).²² Later, we learn that the reason for this revealing attire is that she was bathing incognito when she fell victim to a murder attempt by the Scottish rebels. It is no coincidence that the murderer chose this instant to carry out the lethal plan, taking advantage of the queen’s exposed and vulnerable body natural.

The Conde, who had just saved her life without knowing her true identity, describes the incognito lady to his servant in terms of the physical attributes he saw while she was bathing. Thus, his highly sexualized and detailed description of the queen’s natural body, according to Quintero (152), may also be interpreted as a liberating portrait.²³ Indeed, Isabel appears semi-nude and abandoned to the earthly pleasures of bathing, freed of all political responsibility, yet her public persona is defaced and reduced to wearing a partial mask.²⁴ Isabel’s bath could therefore be interpreted as a perverse voyeuristic experiment by Coello to encourage his Spanish audience to fantasize about the monarch’s body while trying to

demystify her self-contained appearance and to dismantle her political sovereignty.²⁵ Coello's selection of the times when the queen bathes and sleeps as the two key scenarios for threatening her life is thoroughly justified, since in both settings her body natural appears de-robed, exposed, and vulnerable to the enemy and, by extension, to the audience, which also vicariously plays an antagonistic role.²⁶

Elizabeth's surrender of her semi-nude body to the pleasure of her bath is followed by a forfeiting of her sanity. When she finally admits her feelings for the Conde, she describes her infatuation as an act of uncontrollable madness:

Queen: (The Earl saved my life;
I confess it weighs heavily upon me.
Oh despicable gratitude
that spawned my bastard love,
child of a traitorous father,
I'll divert your steps.
Lo, sanity, are you suffering this?) (vv. 943–49)²⁷

On several occasions, faced with her inability to control her passion for her favorite, she sees herself as going mad. Far from distancing herself from human desires, Isabel reveals herself as knowledgeable in the art of love, as she displays an exhaustive catalog of seductive skills while imagining how the Conde would have wooed Blanca:²⁸

Queen: [. . .]
You will say that the Conde,
no doubt, loved your beauty;
that there were messages, is nothing new,
love notes, such an old thing;
that you spoke to him, I'm not surprised;
that he talked up his suffering;
if he did, I believe you;
that you put up resistance,

that you are noble, no doubt;
that he made you a gift of tears and complaints;
—he is a man, indeed, well I know it—
and that you, a bit more gentle,
—you are a woman; it's no miracle—
you gave in to his finery;
you paid for his weeping,
and later, mad and blind,
—a fire grows to a point
love that began in embers—
you are a monster, you are a marvel
of will, of tenacity,
of sighs, of cares;
and he, with reciprocal woes,
adores, serves and respects you,
sunflower to your beauty.
Is that what happened?
Is this how it was?
Blanca: That is exactly how it was. (vv. 1675–1703)²⁹

Through this fantasy of seduction, Isabel vicariously experiences the passion felt by Blanca and the Conde as an act of devious voyeurism that gives her another opportunity to fully experience her body natural.

As a logical result of the queen's exploration and admission of her feelings toward the Conde, Isabel experiences jealousy to the point of astonishing Blanca, as it reflects an all too human attitude on the part of the queen:³⁰

Blanca: Señora, indeed,
if it were possible,
if anyone but you were to speak
such words, I would say they were
of jealousy . . . (vv. 1777–81)³¹

Although the queen nominally attempts to restrain her human foibles, whether by hiding behind a mask, exerting control over her public persona, or imposing justice by the end of the play, her poor judgment in condemning an innocent man, who also happens to be the one she loves, causes her to publicly present herself as a disconsolate woman and an ineffective sovereign:³²

Reina: How slow was
my pity and my clemency;
how diligent my severity;
and my cruelty, how swift!
How late the remedy arrived!
but it is characteristic of good fortune
to always arrive late
and offer no advantage.
Did I punish loyalty?
Did I kill innocence?
Did I destroy the hope of Europe?
Did I destroy my land's refuge?
Am I but stone to my lover?
Was I but bronze to give death
to my own lover? I weep too late. (vv. 3041–55)³³

Coello thus creates the queen as a prototypical woman in love, aware of her duties as monarch but unable to shed her more human side. While her body natural, from the play's beginning, is fully exposed in the most intimate scenarios, her body politic is symbolized by a mask, an artificial artifact, a prosthesis placed over her body natural.

Even though the depiction of the queen's body natural in Diamante's play is far more blurred than in Coello's *El Conde de Sex*, it conveys similar desires and heartaches. Indeed, in *La reina María Estuarda*, there are no explicit scenes of Isabel's body natural; however, the fool draws an illuminating comparison between Isabel and Venus—in contrast to that of María and Minerva—that brings the monarch to an earthly level, just as

Coello did more explicitly in his play, as noted by Paulson and Álvarez Detrell in their critical introduction to *La reina María Estuarda*:³⁴

Galapago: Venus was a great gambler,
fierce as a beast,
and in the game called “man”
she famously played third.
Minerva (whom the Gentiles did
respect) was the mistress
of knowledge,
of arms, and of science.
Jupiter gave a star from the sky
to Venus, Jupiter, and it was
the same star that rises
when the sun sets.
Minerva fell
out of favor, she
was Goddess of the virtues,
while the other was of vices,
the evil one had a star,
the good one remained in darkness:
for whoever has merit,
never has had a star. (2, vv. 1291–1310)³⁵

A second point in common with Coello’s play is the love triangle in which Isabel participates and the jealousy she experiences as a result. Nonetheless, triangular desire in Diamante’s play is developed in a far more simplistic way than in Coello’s *comedia*. Eduardo proves to be María’s faithful lover at all times, transforming Isabel into a jealous, one-dimensional heroine and underscoring her role as an antagonist. Even though Eduardo, like Coello’s Conde, is aware of the inescapable tension experienced by Isabel’s two conflicting bodies, Diamante presents us with a queen lacking all introspection, who is subdued in her display of feelings and unsophisticated in the art of seduction.³⁶ Indeed, neither

the nature of her emotions nor their effects are examined in depth by the playwright, relegating her jealousy to that of a mere catalyst for unjust political vengeance against María. This shortsighted sense of justice helps characterize her as an ineffective and cruel leader and—just like Coello’s Isabel—incapable of maintaining the integrity of her body politic.

Faking the Queen’s Body Politic

Although there are obvious differences between the two protagonists, Coello and Diamante coincide in exposing their respective monarchs to human passions and, at the same time, having them resign themselves to their political responsibilities. As a result, both Isabels bear their bodies politic as a heavy burden that has been imposed upon them. In *El Conde de Sex* the queen is slandered from the very first line as a tyrant by the murderer.³⁷ Later on, Blanca also stresses her tyranny when she states, “Isabel, who has always kept / Europe in suspense / through force or artifice” (vv. 446–448),³⁸ and expands further on Isabel’s diabolical reputation among Catholics at the time.³⁹ In contrast to these negative political portraits, the seneschal extols the monarch’s dedication to state affairs:

Seneschal: May the heavens protect the life
of your highness, the best they can,
for the good of England,
as you are so vigilant over
your realm and your vassals.

Queen: This force shall remain as long as I am
queen. Go with God, Majordomo.

Seneschal: The Queen is always a marvel
of prudence and courage. (vv. 1897–1905)⁴⁰

Neither of these shallow and paradoxical views of Isabel’s leadership lacks any critical or historical depth throughout the play. Her actions, however, reveal a much more complex and tortured portrayal of her body politic.

It is relevant to point out that Isabel’s public persona remains at all times a latent burden throughout the play. Just as Calderón drew Segismundo as



a man-beast in *La vida es sueño* (Life is a dream) (1635), Coello emulates his literary master by creating another dual-identity “monster”—a woman-monarch—that the Conde perceives as an irresistible defaced creature:

Conde: I, who, blind and troubled, saw at first
her face’s snow-white side
then its dark side,
gazing upon such a divine monster, I believed
that cautious Nature,
in uniting such unequal beauty,
wished to shock or outrage through
such a marriage of jet black and ivory. (vv. 183–90)⁴¹

The notion of the queen allegorically disfigured at all times by her political obligations was thoroughly exploited by the Spanish director Nacho Sevilla in his production of *El Conde de Sex* in 2005. In the play, the protagonist is intended to wear a sadomasochistic corset as a symbol of self-imposed repression that simultaneously causes pleasure and pain.

This self-contained appearance of the queen’s body politic is also developed on a psychological level throughout Coello’s play. When Isabel embodies her public self, the queen delivers seventy-five asides through which she expresses and liberates her most intimate passions.⁴²

The Conde is the only one who perceives Isabel’s struggles as a ruler and strives to help her to reconcile her two bodies. Ultimately, the plot of Coello’s *El Conde de Sex* resumes its circular structure. At its dénouement, we are again presented with Isabel in a mask and petticoats (162), except that this time her concealment is justified because she is breaking her own rules. Isabel gives the Conde a key that will allow him to escape from prison and from the death sentence she herself has imposed upon him. Whereas the bath scene was transgressive by literally exposing Isabel’s

Fig. 29. (opposite) Costume design sketch of Isabel by Almudena Sancho, from the film *El Conde de Sex* (Dir. Nacho Sevilla, 2005). Courtesy Asociación José Estruch, Real Escuela Superior de Arte Dramático. Photograph by Julián Peña.

body natural, this scene is equally daring by explicitly undoing her body politic—on both occasions in the context of public secrecy. Nonetheless, in this last scene, the Conde is aware of the queen's identity and, after refusing the key, he makes one last request: for her to remove her mask in his presence. This request can be interpreted as an act of love, as the Conde offers the queen a unique opportunity to merge her two bodies and thus experience herself as a complete being.⁴³

Although Isabel removes her mask, she does not break free from her binary identity as a woman-ruler until she contemplates the beheaded body of the Conde, after realizing that she has unjustly condemned him. It is only at this moment that Isabel publicly regrets her error as a ruler, without resorting to any aside:

Queen: Did I punish loyalty?
Did I kill innocence?
Did I destroy the hope of Europe?
Did I destroy my land's refuge?
Am I but stone to my lover?
Am I but bronze to give death
to my own lover? I weep too late. (vv. 3050–55)⁴⁴

In contrast to Coello, Diamante's characterization of the queen's body politic is far more controlled, albeit one-dimensional, just as it was in the case of her body natural. Diamante's Isabel is shown to be an incompetent ruler, allowing herself to be manipulated by her advisors without demonstrating any introspective disposition. Ultimately, she is unable to control her jealousy, which clouds her judgment to such an extent that she is entirely diminished in her position.⁴⁵ If in the first act she is shown to be generous and well-intentioned toward María, during the rest of the play, her advisors lead her to believe that her cousin is plotting against her.⁴⁶

In addition to her political naivety, the jealousy that Diamante's Isabel feels toward her cousin unleashes an irrational fury and a thirst for vengeance that blurs any critical judgment. As noted by Mackenzie: "Diamante convincingly depicts the desperately unbalanced passion felt by Elizabeth

for Eduardo, and profoundly explores the uncontrollable torment of her jealousy, which impels her from an initially sincere desire to give Mary sanctuary to an inexorable determination to destroy the royal cousin whom Eduardo dares adore.”⁴⁷ Diamante presents a queen who is blind to the affairs of state and is a victim to her own irrepressible passions that reduce her to the status of a tragic heroine at the end. For Mackenzie, “Elizabeth survives, but as a tragically mournful figure, her grief being now her most passionately experienced emotion, she stimulates us at the end to pity rather than revulsion.”⁴⁸

In contrast to Coello’s Isabel, Diamante’s heroine hides behind a mask insofar as she does not confront any such inner struggle. The pain and passion suffered by her body natural finds the perfect escape by taking vengeance on her cousin. Nevertheless, this erroneous decision leads her to subsequently experience an emotional catharsis when Eduardo’s death unexpectedly follows María’s. It is then that Isabel’s astonishment at her own foolish tyranny as a political leader, and her grief as a disdained lover, simultaneously come to light as she cries out, “What tyranny! [. . .] What sorrow!” (3, vv. 2767–69).⁴⁹ In both Coello’s and Diamante’s plays, it is only when confronted by the death of their beloved that both queens are able to join their private and public personas, only to become purely tragic figures that openly expose their “weak and feeble” bodies: natural and political.⁵⁰

Conclusion

The representation of Elizabeth I in the early modern Spanish *comedia* comprises a fictionalized image of the English queen whose historical characteristics are overshadowed by the playwrights’ imaginations and ideological intentions. Indeed, both Coello and Diamante distort her most intimate self and public image. The historical defacement is carried out by exposing her body natural—literally in the case of Coello’s play—a taboo aspect in other artistic representations of the monarch, especially if we consider her hieratic portraits. Nonetheless, this voyeuristic speculation concerning the queen’s body natural was not unique to Spanish Catholic

resentment. In England, fictions about Elizabeth's private life exploded after her death and continued throughout the 1680s in books and plays, with John Bank's (ca. 1650–1706) *The Unhappy Favourite* (1682) a parallel example to Coello's drama.⁵¹ As Whitelock points out, "Banks centered his drama on the conflict between the queen's private and public self, thereby reworking the concept of the queen's two bodies. Elizabeth was championed here as a vulnerable queen, notable for the personal cost of the public sacrifices she was compelled to make. Questioning Elizabeth's virginity was no longer confined to hostile Catholic discourse and there was a growing sense that Elizabeth's private feelings compromised the integrity of her rule and her status as national icon" (355). Setting aside the risqué striptease of the bath scene conceived by Coello, in both *El Conde de Sex* and *La reina María Estuarda* we confront a monarch who is exposed to earthly passions and is capable of experiencing love, desire, jealousy, sorrow, and regret. This all-too-human characterization breaks away from the historical image of an iron lady and the martyr-like ruler who renounced earthly pleasures in order to maintain total control of her realm.⁵²

We could argue that these two plays invite the audience to delve into the intimate life of an inaccessible queen in order to discover an ineffective monarch, incapable of good judgment in discerning either the enemy within her own house or the innocence of her own cousin. By demythifying one of Spain's most feared enemies, both playwrights distance their audience from a traumatic past and indulge the spectators' fantasies about Elizabeth Tudor's weaknesses and foibles as both a woman and a ruler. While Catholic polemicists were fully engaged in this task to discredit Elizabeth I, the queen's divested image on the stage would have assumed an exceptional three-dimensional human profile, specifically tailored to relieve the Spanish audience of its anxieties. In both *El Conde de Sex* and *La reina María Estuarda*, the exposure of the queen's body natural takes precedence and, although it appears repressed at certain moments, her physical body imposes an emotional agency over her body politic that compels her to misrule. In an act of poetic, political, and even divine justice, Coello and Diamante ultimately relegate the ineffectual monarch

to an existential solitude—dispossessed of her two bodies—that purges her sovereignty from the collective memory of the early modern Spanish audience.

NOTES

1. Whitelock, *The Queen's Bed*, 190.
2. The queen's portraits decisively contributed to the creation of her public persona by propagating a powerful, almost divine, image of the monarch. According to Andrew and Catherine Belsey, "These pictures do not present an image, not even an ideal image, of her body, since the available repertoire of likenesses of the human body offers no obvious image for a woman who is also a ruler in a patriarchal society. The portraits of the Queen subdue her sexuality in order to proclaim her power, and in the process they place her outside the realm of nature. In these images Elizabeth escapes the constraints of time and space: she represents a superhuman transcendence: and finally she takes the place of God" (33).
3. Even though her body could not be represented on stage, it was the subject of different poetic and visual anti-Protestant campaigns throughout the 1580s and 1590s that did not shy away from grotesque and even pornographic descriptions of it. Her incestuous conception and sexual depravity were at the heart of these Catholic campaigns that corrupted her body natural and challenged her body politic.
4. Levin, *The Heart and Stomach*, 130. Carol Levin comments that Ben Jonson's *Everyman out of his Humour* (performed in 1599 and published in 1600, before the queen's death) had originally included Elizabeth as a character, but the playwright altered the original text in order to exclude her (130).
5. The obsessive fascination with Elizabeth has survived to the present day, insofar as she and the whole Tudor dynasty remain subjects for all types of highly successful commercial reenactments. Most recently, we have witnessed this phenomenon with best sellers such as *Wolf Hall* (2009) and *Bring Up the Bodies* (2012) by Hilary Mantel, adapted for the stage and turned into a television miniseries by the BBC.
6. Cruickshank, "Lisping," 124.
7. In the case of *El Conde de Sex* (1638), it is clear that Coello avoids mentioning the queen in the title at all costs. Even the two alternate titles of the play—*Dar*

la vida por su dama (To give his life for his lady) and *La tragedia más lastimosa de amor* (The most pitiful love tragedy)—distance the *comedia* from all references to Spain's real diplomatic relations with England.

8. Here I refer to Ernst Kantorowitz's famous notion of the king's two bodies. However, I do not fully develop it from the theoretical standpoint of the historian since, according to Kantorowitz, the monarch's body politic is exempt from defects (7), while both Coello's and Diamante's main purpose in their plays is to characterize the queen by her defective body politic.
9. Laiz, "Apuntes," 19.
10. Three French tragedies—*Le Comte d'Essex* (The count of Essex) (1638), by Gaultier de Coste, seigneur de La Calprenède; *Le Comte d'Essex* (The count of Essex) (1678), by L'Abbé Claude Boyer; and *Le Comte d'Essex* (The count of Essex) (1678), by Thomas Corneille—and Four English tragedies: *The Unhappy Favourite, or the Earl of Essex* (1682), by John Banks; *The Fall of the Earl of Essex* (1731), by James Ralph; *The Earl of Essex* (1752), by Henry Jones; and *The Earl of Essex* (1779), by Henry Brooke (1779), all develop in ways that are different from the Spanish versions (Schmiedel, 44). The Italian work by Nicolò Biancolelli, *La regina statista d'Inghilterra et il conte di Essex, vita, successi, e morte* (The queen of England and the count of Essex, life, events and death) (1668), and the German work by Hernan Müller, *Elizabeth Königin von England* (Elizabeth queen of England) (1837), were directly inspired by the Spanish source (Schmiedel, 44). For a detailed analysis of dramatic works on the relationship between Elizabeth I and Robert Devereux, see Smith, "The Earl of Essex on Stage."
11. Schmiedel mentions a production at the Teatro de la Cruz (Theatre of the Cross) in Madrid in 1819, nine performances in Valladolid between 1681 and 1689, in addition to the thirteen that took place during the eighteenth century (23). Schmiedel also states that the play was included in the "List of *Comedias* in the Repertoire of the Theater Company of Joaquín Doblado for the Year 1787" (*Lista de Comedias que tiene de caudal la compañía de teatro de Joaquín Doblado año de 1787*) (23). In addition, it is worth mentioning that the library at the English College in Valladolid holds "a substantial quantity of Spanish adventures of expatriate recusants" (Bouza, 66).
12. MacCurdy, *The Tragic Fall*, 223–24.
13. Historically, the execution of the Earl of Essex took place after his attempted insurrection upon his return from Ireland. Not knowing the real reason for

this sudden intrusion in London, Elizabeth sent him to York House under the authority of Lord Keeper Egerton and in August 1600 to Essex House. When his “Farm of Sweet Wines” was not renewed, the earl was financially ruined and, in 1601, he began to plan the court takeover to force the queen to replace her advisors. The failed uprising ended with the arrest of the Earl of Essex and the Earl of Southampton together with other followers. Both were tried for treason and condemned to death (Levin, 154–56). According to Schmiedel, the queen was reluctant to authorize the Earl of Essex’s death sentence and expressed regret for his condemnation on her deathbed (38).

14. Particularly during the 1590s, anxiety about the succession began to surface at court and contributed to an increase in the sense of insecurity surrounding the queen’s life: “The Queen had come close to having been killed, and it was only the ruthless investigations of Cecil and Essex to unearth the threats, and so prove their own devotion to her, that had saved her from harm” (Whitelock, 265).
15. Paulson and Álvarez-Detrell, “Introduction,” 9. Early modern plays about Mary Stuart worth mentioning include *La reine d’Écosse* (The queen of Scotland) (1596), by Antoine de Montchretien; *La tragedia della regina di Scozia* (The tragedy of the queen of Scotland) (1598), by Tomasso Campanella; *La reina María Estuada* (The queen Mary Stuart) (1600), by Manuel Gallegos; *Marie Stuard* (Mary Stuart) (1639), by Charles Regnault; and *Marie Stuard* (Mary Stuart) (1683), by Edme Boursault. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries we have *Lo que va de un cetro a otro y la crueldad de Inglaterra* (What passes from scepter to scepter, and England’s cruelty) (ca. 1793), by José de Cañizares; *Maria Stuart* (Mary Stuart) (1800), by Friedrich Schiller; and the opera by Gaetano Donizetti, with the libretto by Giuseppe Bardari, *Maria Stuarda* (Mary Stuart) (1834). With respect to the image of Mary Stuart in early modern Spanish drama, I refer the reader to Kelsey Ihinger’s article “The Mirror of Albion: Spanish Theatrical Reimaginings of Queen Elizabeth I and Mary Stuart.”
16. Mackenzie, “The ‘Deadly,’” 213.
17. Paulson and Álvarez-Detrell, “Introduction,” 17.
18. Quintero, *Gendering the Crown*, xiv.
19. Lacruz Zúñiga establishes four variations on the queen, all of which appear in the Spanish comedia: (1) the good ruler and positive model for women; (2) the bad ruler and negative model for women; (3) the monarch who

is incapable of ruling and is therefore reduced to merely accompanying a powerful person; and (4) the good ruler, with male features, who ultimately succumbs to the feminine nature of her natural body (“La figura,” 454).

20. Zuñiga, *Mujer y poder*, 737.
21. Mackenzie, *La escuela*, 112.
22. “[...] en enaguas y cotilla, a medio vestir y con mascarilla” (79). All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.
23. The scene of Isabel’s bath when the Conde stumbles onto the scene may allude to the myth of Diana and Actaeon in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and serves as a premonitory sign of the favorite’s fall.
24. “The process of describing an idealized beauty, is in fact dehumanizing the historical figure, fragmenting her, and making her familiar by incorporating her body into the clichéd conventions of poetry and theater” (Quintero, 156). We could also interpret this scene as a means to deconstruct the myth of chastity to provide us with a more earthly portrait of Elizabeth. If we consider the queen’s virginity as a political decision to strengthen her sovereignty (King, 30), the eroticism exhibited by Coello’s Isabel portrays a monarch immersed in earthly pleasures and, therefore, a vulnerable enemy. If this were the play’s intention, Coello would be trying to undermine the “virginal” myth exploited by Elizabeth I. In this context, it is significant to note that the trauma of the “invincible” Spanish Armada lived on in the Spanish collective memory of the period and how the Censor of *comedias*, Francisco de Avellaneda, in charge of reviewing Coello’s play, disapproved of the inclusion of a passage concerning that subject: “Sir, I have reviewed this *comedia*, *El Conde de Sex*, with great care, with regard to England, and have eliminated certain verses included in the first act, which refer to the Armada that King Philip II directed against that Realm (news that is not proper to refer to) and a stanza in the second act regarding the favorites; the Author may be assured that all else will receive the approval of His Majesty.” (He visto esta comedia del *Conde de Sex* con todo cuidado, por ser caso de Inglaterra, y quitados unos versos que van anotados en la primera jornada, que tocan en la armada que el señor Felipe II aprestó contra aquel reino [noticia que no es bien que se toque]), y una redondilla en la segunda jornada de Los Válidos; en todo lo demás, el autor supo granjear la aprobación de V. S. Madrid II de agosto de 1661] (quoted in Schmiedel, 16).
25. Dressing Elizabeth, as Anna Whitelock writes, was “an elaborated ritual and took several hours as Elizabeth’s ladies painstakingly laced and pinned her

- into her clothes" (10). Presenting her in a state of undress subverts her public persona and the body politic that she so carefully crafted.
26. Erotic bathing scenes or scenes in which the protagonist is asleep were quite common in the *comedia*; they provided the audiences access to female intimacy, a taboo space almost impossible to trespass (Palomo, 223; Walthaus, 1828). However, the bath scenes were never staged in full view, but indirectly through an oral description by another character.
 27. Reina: El Conde me dio la vida; / confieso que me ha pesado. / ¡Oh infame agradecimiento / que engendró mi amor bastardo, / hijo de padre traidor, / yo te atajaré los pasos. / Ea, cordura, ¿esto sufres? (vv. 943–49). I do not include act numbers for this play since the edition used is not divided into acts.
 28. Isabel's rejection of love was an integral part of Elizabeth's identity as the "Virgin Queen," nurtured in public with assertions such as, "I am too much burdened with cares to turn my attention to marriage, for Love is usually the offspring of Leisure, and as I am so beset by duties, I have not been able to think of Love. As therefore, nothing has yet urged me to marry, I have not been able to mediate on this man or that man" (quoted in Whitelock, 252).
 29. Reina: [. . .] Dirás que el Conde, / claro está, amó tu belleza; / que hubo recados, no es nuevo, / papeles, ya es cosa vieja; / que le hablaste, no me espanto; / que te encareció sus penas; / si haría, yo te lo creo; / que hiciste tú resistencia, / que eres noble, claro está; / que dio lágrimas y quejas; / —es hombre en fin, bien sabría— / y que tú, un poco más tierna, / —eres mujer; no es milagro— / admitiste sus finezas; / te pagaste de su llanto / y que después, loca y ciega, / —que a incendio crece en un punto / amor que empezó en paveza— / eres monstruo, eres prodigio / de voluntad, de firmeza, / de suspiros, de cuidados; / y él, con recíprocas penas, / te adora, sirve y estima, / girasol de tu belleza. / ¿Es esto lo que pasó? / ¿Mas que fue desta manera? Blanca: Así fue todo (vv. 1675–1703).
 30. Jealousy played an important role in Elizabeth's relationship with Essex in real life, especially when he secretly married Frances Sidney in 1590.
 31. Blanca: Señora, que, / si acaso posible fuera, / a no ser vos la que dice / esas palabras, dijera / que de celos . . . (vv. 1777–81).
 32. Such an interpretation contradicts, to a certain extent, the view of Ignacio Sevilla (120) and Ignacio Arellano (599), who see the monarch as an example of profound conscientiousness of her political role and control over her emotions.

33. Reina: ¡Qué perezosa que estuvo / mi piedad y mi clemencia; / qué diligente el rigor; / y la crueldad, qué ligera! / ¡Qué tarde llegó el remedio! / pero siempre tarde llega, / que es achaque de la dicha / llegar cuando no aprovecha. / ¿Yo castigué la lealtad? / ¿Yo di muerte a la inocencia? / ¿Yo a la esperanza de Europa / yo al amparo de mi tierra? / ¿Yo a mi amante piedra soy; / bronce fui quien muerte diera / a su amante? Tarde lloro (vv. 3041–55).
34. Paulson and Álvarez-Detrell, "Introduction," 31.
35. Galapago: Fue Venus muy gran tahura, / topada como una bestia, / y para el juego del hombre / famosísima tercera. / Minerva (a quien los Gentiles / respetaron) la maestra / fue de la sabiduría, / de las armas, y las ciencias. / Dióle una Estrella en el cielo / a Venus Júpiter, y era / la misma que se levanta / al tiempo que el sol se acuesta. / A Minerva la dejaron / desfavorecida, ésta / fue Diosa de las virtudes, / de los vicios lo fue aquélla, / estrella tuvo la mala, / y a oscuras quedó la buena: / porque quien méritos tiene, / jamás ha tenido estrella (2, vv.1291–1310).
36. Eduardo: What woman is this, Lord? / Lord, what woman is this, / who in the passions she hides, / and in the affections she expresses, / disguising, or pretending, / arousing my suspicions, / appears to be jealous, / so unseemly for a queen? (1, vv. 1207–15). Eduardo: ¿Qué mujer es ésta, Cielos? / Cielos, ¿qué mujer es ésta, / que en las pasiones que oculta, / y en los afectos que muestra, / disimulando, o fingiendo, / cuanto para mis sospechas, / pronuncia como celosa, / contradice como reina? (1, vv. 1207–15).
37. "Die, tyrant" (Muere, tirana) (v. 1) are the words of Roberto, the Scottish rebel responsible for the first attempt to murder Isabel.
38. "Isabela, que ha tenido / siempre suspensa la Europa / con fuerza o con artificio" (vv. 446–48).
39. Regarding Elizabeth I's reputation in Spain at the time, Duncan L. Moir explains, "For the Spanish of the Golden Age, Elizabeth I was a monster of cruelty and lasciviousness. In the sixteenth century, the priest, don Pedro de Rivadeneira, described her as 'an abominable monster and idol, seated in the temple of God, assuming the office and name of ruler and leader of the Church'" (Para los españoles del Siglo de Oro, Isabel I era un monstruo de crueldad y lascivia. En el siglo XVI, el padre don Pedro de Rivadeneira la describía como 'un abominable monstruo e ídolo, asentada en el templo de Dios, tomando el oficio y nombre de gobernadora y cabeza de la Iglesia') (Lxxxvii).

40. Senescal: Guarden los cielos la vida / de tu alteza, como pueden, / para bien de Inglaterra, / pues tan vigilante atiende / a su reino y sus vasallos. Reina: Esto es fuerza mientras fuere / reina. Id con Dios, Senescal. Senescal: Prodigio es la Reina siempre / de prudencia y de valor (vv. 1897–1905).
41. Conde: Yo, que al principio vi, ciego y turbado, / a una parte nevado, / y en otra negro el rostro, / juzgué mirando tan divino monstruo, / que la naturaleza cuidadosa, / desigualdad uniendo tan hermosa, / quiso hacer por asombro o por ultraje / de azabache y marfil un maridaje. (vv. 183–190)
42. In the privacy of the bath scene, Isabel wears the mask as a reminder of her body politic; in the scenes in which the queen appears as a public entity, she resorts to asides as an emotional escape valve from her official being.
43. Ironically, Elizabeth I was accidentally seen by Essex without her “public mask” when she was 66 years old: the earl stormed into her bedchamber without previous notice. The earl’s sight of the queen was quite different from the fictional unmasking described in Coello: “On arriving, Essex ‘made all haste up to the Presence [Chamber] and so to the Privy Chamber and stayed not till he came to the Queen’s Bedchamber, where he found the Queen newly up, the hair about her face.’ Elizabeth has just a simple robe over her nightdress, her wrinkled skin was free of makeup and without her wig Essex saw her bald head with just wisps of thinning grey hair ‘hanging about her ears’” (Whitelock, 315).
44. Reina: ¿Yo castigué la lealtad? / ¿Yo di muerte a la inocencia? / ¿Yo a la esperanza de Europa / yo al amparo de mi tierra? / ¿Yo a mi amante piedra soy; / bronce fui quien muerte diera / a su amante? Tarde lloro. (vv. 3050–3055)
45. Mary Stuart, the other main character in the play, exhibits this same incompetence in affairs of state, as noted by Paulson and Álvarez-Detrell: “María Estuarda has been a total failure as a monarch and a leader. Diamante, unlike Lope, wastes no time in introducing the reasons for her downfall; she arrives in England dethroned and defeated and only after time has passed does the playwright discuss her past misfortunes in the form of a brief flashback” (31).
46. This tendency to allow herself to be influenced by those closest to her was indeed a weakness experienced by the historical Elizabeth I throughout her reign: “She was also prone to being manipulated by those who knew her well, especially on certain sensitive issues. Perhaps the most dramatic demonstration of these limitations was the execution of Mary Queen of Scots in early 1587” (Hammer, 45).
47. Mackenzie, “The ‘Deadly,’” 213.

48. Mackenzie, "The 'Deadly,'" 213.
49. "¡Qué tiranía! [. . .] ¡Qué pena!" (3, v 2767–69).
50. In real life Elizabeth took all the necessary precautions to keep both bodies intact even after her death. She forbade disembowelment of her body and prevented it from being examined by a forensic: "Surviving financial records from 1603 also point to the fact that Elizabeth's body was embalmed, wrapped in sear cloth, sealed in a leaden shroud and then placed in a wooden coffin" (Whitelock, 345).
51. *The Unhappy Favourite* was performed in London in 1682, almost fifty years after *El Conde de Sex* was written.
52. This characterization of Elizabeth I in Spanish dramatic literature has continued in contemporary plays. Carmen Resino wrote in 1992, *Los eróticos sueños de Isabel Tudor* (The erotic dreams of Elizabeth Tudor), a pseudo-historic drama that revolves around the dreams that the queen has with Phillip II, who became her erotic obsession since she was a child.

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